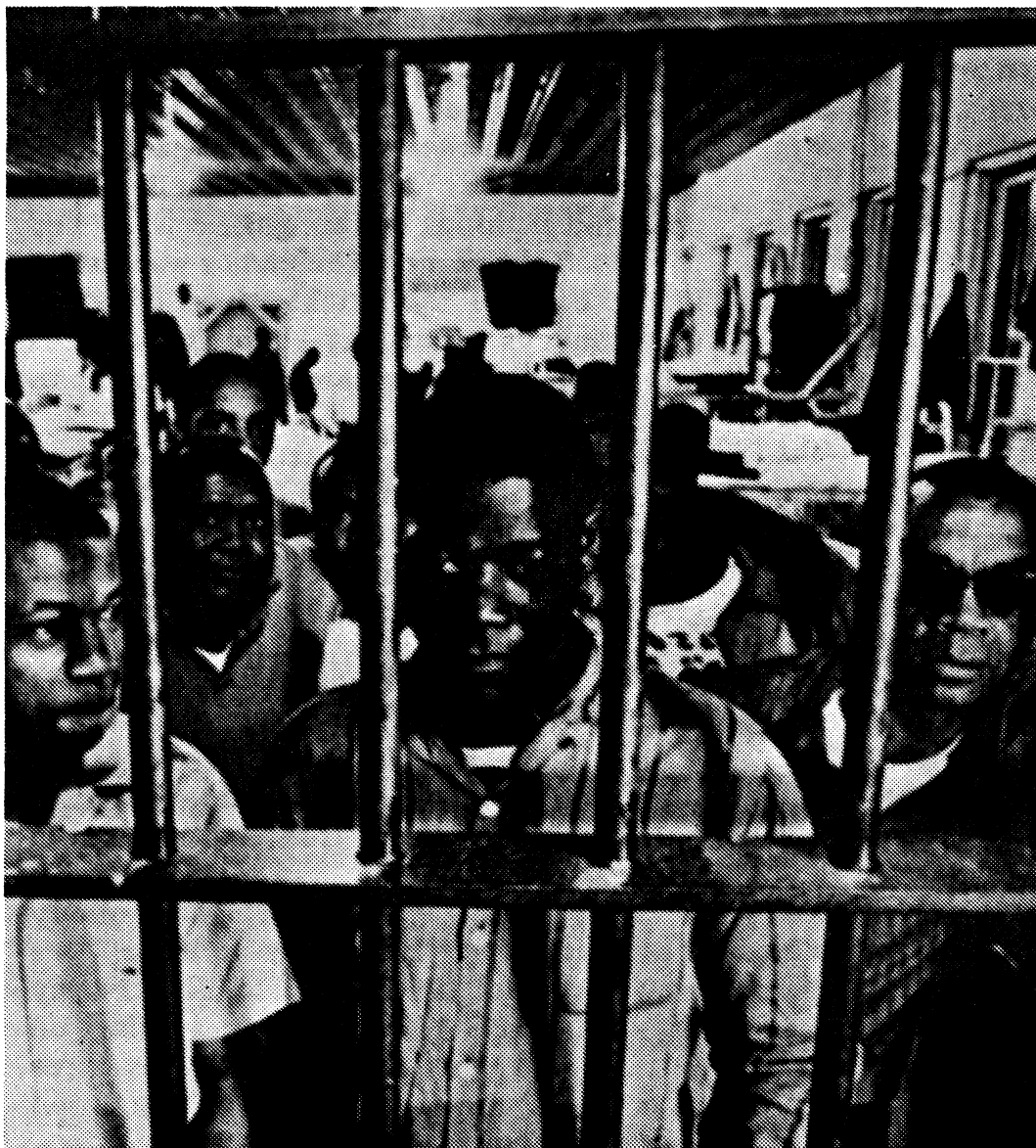


THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Nixon pardon: capitalist 'justice'



Watergate cover-up continues

Right after Nixon resigned, the *Militant* headline read: "Now the real cover-up begins."

Less than a month later Nixon's hand-picked successor has granted him a "full,

An editorial

free, and absolute pardon" from federal prosecution for all the crimes he committed during his five-and-a-half-year term in office.

As part of the deal, all of the White House tapes not yet made public can be destroyed by Nixon after three years.

By thus preventing any federal trials of

Nixon or any further publication of nonsubpoenaed tapes, Ford hopes to put an end to the whole process of unraveling exposures of ruling-class lies and corruption that has come to be called "Watergate."

He hopes to pull a curtain over the truth, to somehow stop the continuing revelations—from the Pentagon papers, to the Watergate trials, to the White House tapes—by which the American people have been able to get an unprecedented glimpse of the workings of the capitalist government.

But no matter how much Ford would like to write "The End" over Watergate, he cannot do so. The storm of protest over the pardon

of Nixon is an indication that the American people are in no mood to accept more ruling-class lies, deception, and cover-ups.

Ford can't write "The End" over Watergate because the government's "credibility gap" reflects the deep-rooted problems facing the U.S. rulers. That is, their growing difficulties in continuing the bloody suppression of the peoples of the colonial world, and in continuing their erosion of the living standards of American workers, while at the same time trying to retain the image of a "democracy" and the confidence of the American people.

In fact, just as Ford was announcing

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 38/NUMBER 35
SEPTEMBER 20, 1974
CLOSING NEWS DATE—SEPT. 11, 1974

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Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Telephone: (213) 483-2798. Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: domestic, \$7.50 a year; foreign, \$11.00. By first-class mail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$32; all other countries, \$53. By airmail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$42. By air printed matter: Central America and Caribbean, \$40; Mediterranean Africa, Europe, and South America, \$52; USSR, Asia, Pacific, and Africa, \$62. Write for foreign sealed air postage rates.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe: L1 for eight issues, L2.50 for six months, L5 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

In Brief

LITVINOV ISSUES APPEAL FOR MOROZ: Pavel Litvinov, a Soviet dissident now living in the United States, recently sent an appeal to PEN International, a writers' organization, urging it to mobilize support for Valentyn Moroz.

Moroz is a dissident Ukrainian historian and journalist who is in the third month of a hunger strike at Vladimir prison in the Soviet Union. He is demanding to be transferred to another prison where conditions aren't as harsh, and he is near death.

Andrei Sakharov, the renowned Soviet nuclear physicist, has asked for the release of Moroz, but so far he is the only prominent Soviet citizen to do so. The exiled Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, though asked for his support, has remained silent.

Help sell The Militant

The Militant's campaign to increase weekly street sales was launched with our previous issue. Our supporters will be participating each week in organized sales in the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities; on the campuses, at plant gates, at political meetings, and on downtown street corners.

Groups of supporters in cities and towns across the country have set goals for the number of Militants they plan to sell each week. The success of the drive will rest on each area meeting their local targets consistently.

The national sales goal is to sell 9,400 copies weekly.

New Yorkers sent in an early report on a special sale they organized in Newark.

The 20 Militant salespeople participating found an enthusiastic response. In less than three hours, 560 copies were sold.

In addition to the Militants they sold in Newark, members of the Brooklyn Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance report that sales have been brisk at Brooklyn College. Consequently, they have already surpassed their goal of 400 and are shooting to sell even more!

Brooklyn's experience sets the pace for the sales campaign. Next week The Militant will print a scoreboard so salespeople in each area can see how they compare with others. Reports should be sent in to the business office on the number of Militants sold.

Join us in spreading the socialist alternative! Send in the coupon on page 23 and we will send you a weekly bundle.

The Militant's drive for 12,000 new subscribers has also begun. Readers can take part by selling subscriptions to their friends, co-workers, and neighbors. Send for some Militant Prepaid Subscription Cards (see coupon on page 17).

SAN FRANCISCO TO EXPAND CHILDREN'S CENTERS: The San Francisco board of education passed an expansion program for children's centers by a unanimous vote in August.

The expansion amounts to an additional expenditure of \$1,612,219. The vote came almost one year after Proposition M—a policy statement calling for the expansion of children's centers—was passed in the November 1973 election. This campaign was carried out by Child and Parent Action, a coalition of parents, community groups, women's organizations, and labor unions.

Local 61 of the American Federation of Teachers, during a strike last March, had as one of its demands the call for the formation of a "children's centers expansion committee" to be made up of teachers, parents, and administrators. This committee was to work out a program for expansion.

The program called for: full-day child-care centers to be expanded by 302 spaces over current enrollment, after-school programs to be opened up to accommodate 360 children, prekindergarten programs to be expanded by 235 children, funds to maintain two infant day-care centers, a parenthood training center, and any surplus funds in the 1973-1974 budget to be used for expansion next year rather than be returned to the general fund.

Even this expansion is a drop in the bucket compared to the needs of the children of San Francisco. But it would never have been passed without considerable pressure on the board of education.

COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS CONTRACT RATIFIED: Members of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), voting in a mail ballot, have approved a new nationwide three-year contract with the giant Bell Telephone System, according to union officials.

Although prices have risen at least 12 percent in the past year, the contract provides for first-year wage increases of only 7.1 percent to 10.7 percent maximum. Higher-paid workers get the larger percentage increase, so that the wage differential is widened. Second- and third-year wage increases are even smaller. A very weak cost-of-living adjustment is to be made annually.

Reports to The Militant from communications workers around the country described widespread dissatisfaction with the contract terms, but union officials—who count the ballots—claim the deal was approved by a 2-to-1 margin.

In a related development, a strike by 60,000 members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers against Western Electric Company, a Bell subsidiary, ended earlier this month. The terms of the settlement were not much different from the nationwide CWA contract.

Militant correspondent John Isenhower attended a meeting of 3,400 members of IBEW Local 1859 in Chicago, held to vote on the strike settlement. It was approved by a 2-to-1 margin. "Workers here were driven to accept the wage and benefit package," Isenhower writes. "They received no strike benefits or unemployment payments during the strike. Many workers told me they simply could not hold out any longer."

CLUW I: More than 250 women gathered in downtown San Francisco's Saint Mary's Square at noontime Aug. 26 to hear speakers from the San Francisco Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) organizing committee.

This rally, in honor of Women's Rights Day, was the first such action by San Francisco CLUW.

Tables were set up with CLUW literature, and an organizer of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) distributed flyers with a confidential "hot line" number for women who wanted to discuss unionization at their workplace. The Office and Professional Employees International Union, Local 3, also had a table with union information on it.

The chairwoman of the rally was LaRene Paul, international representative of the CWA and an active member of CLUW. Speakers included Jackie Walsh, Department Store Employees; Walter Johnson, Retail Clerks, Local 1100; Lucille Marshall, Office and Professional Employees, Local 3; Johnnie Williams, also from Local 3; Sylvia Weinstein, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Local 2694; and Jack Rasmus, organizer for the CWA.

CLUW II: One hundred and fifty trade-union women attended the second organizing meeting for Los Angeles CLUW at the International Ladies' Garment Workers' headquarters. The meeting was held Aug. 26 as a commemoration of Women's Equality Day.

The program featured three women trade-union leaders who told about their experiences in union organizing during three historical periods.

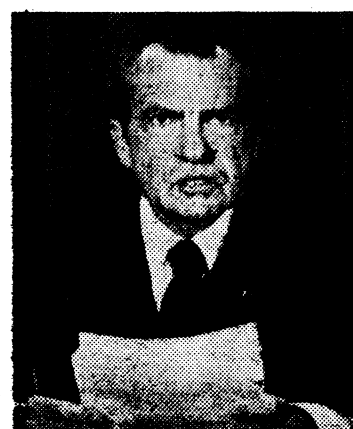
Sarah Rozner, a pioneer in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, told about a 16-week strike that brought forth that union in 1914.

Sophie Silver, who joined the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in 1933, described the growth of the CIO in the 1930s and the history of women in the labor movement until the merger of the AFL and CIO in the mid-1950s.

Gloria Busman, an organizer for the AFL-CIO, said that women are joining the work force in increasing numbers but are mainly in areas that are highly unorganized. She said that one of CLUW's first objectives is to help unions organize the unorganized. —NORMAN OLIVER

YOUR FIRST ISSUE?

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



Mad about Nixon's pardon? Subscribe to The Militant, which exposes week to week the capitalist system of injustice and presents the socialist alternative to the Watergaters.

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Nixon pardon: the cover-up continues

Continued from page 1

his pardon of Nixon on Sept. 8 a new exposé of government lies and gangsterism in foreign policy came to light: the CIA spent more than \$8-million to bring down the elected government of Salvador Allende in Chile. (See article on page 4.)

These revelations have shown the true face of another key representative of the ruling class, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Democratic and Republican politicians alike have done their utmost to cover up for Kissinger's role in Watergate, since he is the central agent of their bipartisan foreign policy.

The Chile revelations show that Kissinger too is as ruthless and cynical as they come, as ready to inflict a regime of torturers on the Chilean people as he was to advise Nixon's Christmas 1972 bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong.

Ford's pardon of Nixon and the Chile revelations highlight the fact that getting rid of Nixon has meant no basic change in the rulers or the methods of rule in this country. From Nixon to Ford the same conspiracy has continued. This is the conspiracy of rule by the small minority of corporation magnates and bankers over the masses of working people.

Corruption, secrecy, and lies have been the *standard* methods of rule back through the administrations of Johnson, Kennedy, Eisenhower, Truman, Roosevelt, and before. Secrecy and deception are necessary because the U.S. government is designed to serve the interests of the ruling rich, which are contrary to the interests of the majority of Americans or of the rest of the world's peoples.

Class justice

Ford's latest extension of the Watergate cover-up is one of the most disgusting examples of the hypocrisy of capitalist "justice."

Think of the enormity of Nixon's



Methods of corruption and deception are not unique to Watergate gang, but have been used by previous administrations, both Democratic and Republican.

crimes. Taking over from his predecessors Johnson and Kennedy, he carried through the undeclared war in Vietnam, conspiring all along to keep the truth about the war hidden from the American people. The lives of 50,000 young Americans and perhaps a million Vietnamese were snuffed out.

Think of how he used the huge resources and power of government institutions—the Internal Revenue Service, the CIA, the FBI—to harass,

disrupt, burglarize, and even murder those who dared dissent or organize against the government.

Think of how Nixon's entire administration—from the two highest offices in the land to the head of the "Justice" Department itself—was revealed to be a den of crooks and gangsters in the pay of the biggest corporations.

And for such crimes, Nixon goes scot-free and is promised \$850,000

"expense money" and a \$60,000-a-year pension out of tax money of the American people.

Compare this to the way capitalist "justice" is applied in the case of poor people, Blacks, and others from the working class.

Thousands upon thousands are victims of outright frame-ups and political victimization.

What were the so-called crimes of the
Continued on next page

'What about a pardon for people like me?'

By ANDREW PULLEY

I watched President Ford on TV when he announced that he was granting a "full, free, and absolute pardon" to Nixon. Ford said he wanted to spare archcriminal Nixon a trial for the accusations "that hang like a sword over our former president's head."

When I heard Ford, my blood boiled and my hair stood straight up on my head. And I wondered why I didn't get pardoned when I was in high school, facing accusations that hung over me "like a sword." Instead of a pardon, I was given the choice of

Andrew Pulley is national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance.

going to jail or the Army. Why? Because I, like thousands of other Black youth, was involved in the protests that occurred after the assassination of Doctor Martin Luther King.

Ford said that "Richard Nixon and his loved ones have suffered enough." Well, I can't tell you what it feels like out in a mansion by the sea in San Clemente; but I don't think it's quite the same as doing time in the Cleveland jail. And it's not so hard on your loved ones either. Why aren't the sufferings of people like me worth a pardon?

And what about the Army, where I was harassed for helping organize antiwar activity among the GIs at Fort Jackson, S.C.? For that, I was framed up, fined \$100, jailed 61 days, and given an undesirable discharge (thus being denied forever the benefits, like educational grants, that are reserved for those receiving honorable discharges). Why didn't I get pardoned like Nixon? And what about the thousands and thousands of others like me who were victimized for opposing the Vietnam war? Why can't we get the "full, free, and absolute pardon" that the chief warmaker got?

Ford said it might be years "before Richard Nixon could hope to obtain a fair trial by jury." What does he think it's like for Black youth? What does he think it's like for a GI in a military court-martial? Yet we get tried and convicted every day. Check this out as an example of equal justice under the law.

Ford's lawyer, Philip Buchen, said that no effort had even been made to find out if Nixon had been guilty of "wrongdoing," before issuing the pardon. Just measure that up against the thousands of young people sitting in jail *prior* to trial; none of these prisoners has been found guilty.

Nixon is guilty—of even graver crimes than the "high crimes and misdemeanors" he was charged with in

Congress. He is guilty of the genocidal bombing of the people of Southeast Asia and of the systematic assault against the democratic rights of the American people.

But there is no jail for him, not even a fine. In fact, it's the American people who are being fined! Ford is planning to take \$850,000 from our taxes to give to Nixon—on top of the \$60,000 yearly pension he is going to get for the rest of his miserable life.

While pardoning Nixon, Ford had the gall to say that the law "is no respecter of persons." That's a lie! Capitalist law *does* respect persons who are members of the ruling class or who are their agents. There is one standard of justice for the masses of the poor, the oppressed, the exploited—and another for the likes of Nixon.

Ford said that the act of pardoning Nixon was unprecedented. But that's not true either. What about Spiro Agnew? He got away free too. And even the few Nixon henchmen who got caught and convicted are spending their time in relative comfort. They didn't get the Attica treatment, that's for sure. It is no exception to pardon the rich and their representatives. It's the rule of thumb.

No, I didn't get pardoned; neither did the tens of thousands of young Americans who refused service in the

armed forces or who got bad discharges. The Attica prisoners didn't get pardoned, nor the Wounded Knee defendants, nor the thousands of other victims of capitalist injustice.

Ford said of Nixon and his family that "theirs is an American tragedy." No, theirs is a travesty of justice.

Our America, the America of the poor, the Black, the young, the worker, is the real American tragedy. For us, America is a land of injustice. And only a socialist revolution can change it.



Militant/Brian Shannon

PULLEY: 'A travesty of justice.'

...Nixon's pardon

Continued from preceding page

61 Attica Brothers now facing trial for their participation in the 1971 Attica rebellion? Their "crime" was to organize a massive protest demanding the right to be treated as human beings rather than animals.

What are the "crimes" for which Mexican workers who don't have papers are hounded, jailed, and deported by the U. S. government? Their only "crime" is to come here looking for even the worst-paying jobs in order to be able to provide for their poverty-stricken families.

Or think of the "crime" for which thousands of young war resisters have been forced into exile. Or the "crime" of the hundreds of thousands of GIs penalized for the rest of their lives with less than honorable discharges for organizing against the war or against racism in the armed forces.

And in many other cases, people are rotting in jail for petty offenses—for stealing a few dollars or lifting a blouse from a department store; their real "crimes" are poverty, unemployment, and desperation.

Crimes against the majority

Ford's pardon of Nixon illustrates how the giant crimes of the ruling class against the majority are not treated as crimes at all.

Capitalist "justice" means that the real punishment is directed only at those who resist or challenge the right of the rich to keep the rest of the people living in poverty or insecurity. Its purpose is to terrorize the mass of people into accepting capitalist inequality.

To try to cover up this truth, Ford had to put on a real show in pardoning Nixon. He made his announcement on a Sunday, after taking communion at his church, "to emphasize that the pardon was an act of mercy," said the *New York Times*.

Ford's talk of "compassion" for Nixon and his concern for the "sufferings" of the bomber of Vietnam was enough to turn the stomach of anyone with an ounce of real compassion for humanity.

The amnesty issue is another ploy Ford has used to try to make his pardon of Nixon more palatable to the American people. But this is only more hypocrisy, since Ford has only raised proposals for conditional amnesty that would retain the stigma of guilt for the resisters.

'Ugly passions'

Despite all the window dressing, some of Ford's real reasons for the pardon did come through in his statement. He said that if Nixon were brought to trial, "ugly passions would again be aroused, our people would again be polarized in their opinions, and the credibility of our free institutions of government would again be challenged at home and abroad."

This statement has to be translated from ruling-class language to be clearly understood. By "ugly passions" Ford simply means the outrage of the American people when they learn the truth. He and the others of his class find this passion "ugly" because they fear the indignation of the masses of Americans will be directed not only at Nixon the individual, but at the crimes of the entire capitalist class and its government.

Ford fears that people will be "polarized in their opinions." By that he

means the masses of working people turning against the handful of capitalist rulers who control the government. And by credibility of "our free institutions of government" he means the credibility of capitalist class rule.

Tactical disagreements

Some Democratic and Republican politicians and ruling class spokespeople have criticized Ford's pardon. But their disagreement is only tactical.

The *New York Times*, for example, complains that "rather than calm public passions and restore a fundamental sense of national unity, Mr. Ford has ignited fresh controversy."

The *Times*'s economic analyst Leonard Silk noted the implications of the pardon for the capitalists' policy of lowering the workers' real income through inflation. He wrote that "if the national mood turns cynical once more," it will be more difficult for the capitalists to put over "a policy of moderation" when workers demand higher wages.

The *Times* also advised Ford immediately that his trial balloon proposal of pardoning all the Watergate defendants could undermine the rationale for capitalist law and order.

"No convincing argument could be advanced for keeping any convicted public official, judge or civil servant in jail," said this ruling-class organ. "Indeed, it would be hard to explain why all the prisons should not be emptied and all the courts disbanded."

How to fight back

The way to fight back against the Watergate cover-ups and methods of rule is by helping to promote independent working-class political action on all levels—in the streets and in the elections—against the policies of the two capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans. Watergate poses the need to build a class alternative to the rule of the wealthy few.

The 1974 state election campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party embody such a perspective, and the SWP candidates are educating throughout the country on this theme.

This perspective of building a class alternative to capitalist Watergate-type rule means participation in all the independent struggles that have arisen—against police brutality, for higher wages, for women's rights, for control by the oppressed minorities of their children's education, and other fights. Such struggles are an integral part of the process of building up the independent power of working people and the oppressed.

This perspective also means taking advantage of the Watergate revelations to press forward and win the greatest amount of democratic rights for the labor movement, socialist movement, and the movements of Blacks and other oppressed peoples.

We call on readers to support the various civil suits against Nixon, the government, and the FBI for their violation of the constitutional rights of dissenters. The most comprehensive of these suits is the one being waged by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, which is supported by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Nixon remains a defendant in this case—there will be no pardon for Nixon as far as the SWP and YSA suit is concerned.

Reveal CIA plot to topple Allende gov't

By MICHAEL BAUMANN

William Colby, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, has admitted that the Nixon administration authorized more than \$8 million between 1970 and 1973 to finance a secret CIA effort to topple the Allende regime in Chile.

The \$8 million, he testified before a congressional subcommittee, was in addition to \$3 million the CIA had spent earlier trying to prevent Allende from being elected.

Colby's admission of the CIA's role in overthrowing Allende was made in secret testimony April 22 before the House Armed Services Special Subcommittee on Intelligence. It did not come to light, however, until September 8, when portions of a congressman's letter quoting from the Colby transcript were made public in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*.

Neither newspaper reported how the letter, sent by Massachusetts Representative Michael J. Harrington to the



KISSINGER: Wanted to use force and end Allende regime quickly.

chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, made its way into their hands.

It is clear, however, why the White House sought to keep the information contained in Colby's testimony from circulating beyond a limited circle of trusted government officials. The CIA director's account of how Washington helped pave the way for the September 11, 1973, military coup in Chile shows how brazenly the White House and State Department lied in saying that the United States had nothing to do with the overthrow of Allende. And it establishes beyond any doubt Washington's direct responsibility for the thousands of deaths that accompanied the coup and the following repression.

Colby testified that Washington's efforts to block an Allende electoral victory went back as far as 1964. According to the report on the revelations in Harrington's letter published in the September 8 *Washington Post*, "A total of \$3 million in CIA funds was poured into the Christian Democratic Party in 1964 to support the successful candidacy of its nominee, Eduardo Frei, who was being opposed by Allende."

"Funding was provided to individuals, political parties and media outlets in Chile, through channels in other countries in both Latin America and Europe," Harrington related. "Mr. Colby's description of these operations was direct, though not to the point of identifying actual contacts and conduits."

In 1969, a year before the next presidential election, the CIA was given some \$500,000 to "fund individuals who could be nurtured to keep

the anti-Allende forces active and intact." An additional \$500,000 was paid to "opposition party personnel" during the campaign.

After Allende won a plurality in the 1970 election, Harrington's report of the transcript continues, the CIA was authorized to spend \$350,000 "to bribe the Chilean Congress, which at that time was faced with deciding a runoff between the candidates." According to the September 8 *New York Times*, the bribes were only part of a "much more complicated scheme intended to overturn the results of the election." After the bribes were paid, the overall plan was supposedly rejected as unworkable.

Following the confirmation of Allende's victory by the Chilean Congress, CIA money really started to pour in. From 1971 to 1973, \$5 million was authorized by Washington to finance clandestine CIA activities aimed at "destabilizing" the Allende regime. An additional \$1.5 million was provided to support the campaigns of anti-Allende candidates in the 1973 municipal elections. Some of the latter funds "were used to support an unnamed but influential anti-Allende newspaper," according to Harrington's account of Colby's testimony.

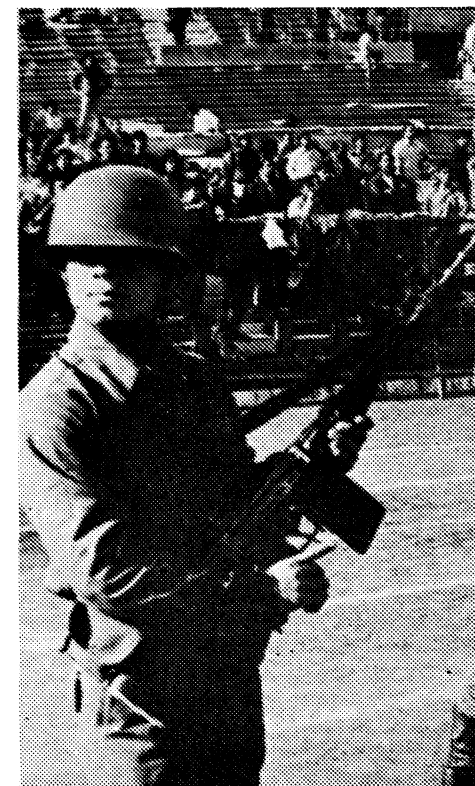
A CIA expenditure of \$1 million for "further political destabilization activities" was authorized in August 1973, one month before the coup. Did this money go to General Pinochet, who at that time had already laid plans for the seizure of power? Here Colby was not particularly helpful.

"The full [CIA] plan authorized in August was called off when the military coup occurred less than one month later," Harrington wrote. "He added, however," according to the *New York Times*, "that Mr. Colby had testified that \$34,000 of the funds had been spent—including a payment of \$25,000 to one person to buy a radio station."

Colby's testimony provides conclusive proof that high White House and State Department officials repeatedly lied about the U. S. role in overthrowing Allende.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, for example, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last year in a public session: "The CIA had nothing to do with the coup, to the best of my knowledge and belief, and I only put in that qualification in case some madman appears down there who without instructions talked to some-

Continued on page 22



Soldier guards political prisoners in Chile's National Stadium after CIA-aided coup.

Blacks outraged at Nixon pardon

'The poor, they have no justice in society'

By **NORMAN OLIVER**

Vice-president-designate Nelson Rockefeller commended President Ford's pardon of Nixon, saying it was an act "of conscience, compassion, and courage."

"Rockefeller has a lot of nerve commending the pardon," George Preston, a Black teacher at the City College of New York, told *The Militant* in an on-the-street interview on Manhattan's Lower East Side.

"What about Attica?" Preston continued. "Rockefeller didn't pardon those brothers at Attica! Where was Rockefeller's conscience, where was his compassion, where was his courage when he ordered those brothers killed?!"

Eighty people were wounded and 43 were murdered during the Attica massacre, which took place Sept. 13, 1971. Six hundred state troopers, sheriff's deputies, and prison guards, and 400 National Guardsmen carried out the assault on the orders of then New York governor Nelson Rockefeller. Rockefeller had received White House sanction from Richard Nixon over the telephone. The blood of the prisoners, guards, and civilian employees slaughtered at Attica is on the hands of Rockefeller and Nixon.

Why were the Attica inmates murdered? Because they were fighting against the inhuman conditions they



Aftermath of Attica massacre. No cops or government officials were ever charged in slaughter of rebel inmates.

were forced to live under.

Sixty-one of these men, who were standing up for their dignity as human beings, are the ones who have been indicted for the Attica revolt. Not a single prison guard, state trooper, National Guard, or government official faces any charges stemming from the bloody crushing of that rebellion. The grand jury that indicted the 61 Attica Brothers let Rockefeller and Nixon remain at large.

There is a double standard in America. In this land where everyone is supposed to be equal, there are some who are more equal than others. For Black people, who have suffered centuries of racist oppression, Ford's pardon of Nixon confirms this picture of American justice.

"After all that talk Nixon made during his election campaign about law and order," said Zenola Woods, a Black housewife, "he turns out to be the biggest crook of all. That law and order stuff was for Black folk. You know that if it was you or me we'd be in jail right now. I say they should let all the draft dodgers have a pardon too, and they should open all the prisons and let the prisoners free."

George Preston said: "Nixon is a criminal. He should be in jail, but if they're going to give him an unconditional pardon then they should

give all the criminals—whatever that means—an unconditional pardon too. The conscientious objectors should be let back into the country with total amnesty.

"Ford says that Nixon is distraught and in bad health. Well, when Nixon cut spending on day care, he wasn't concerned about how distraught mothers in this country would be. No, Nixon is a criminal no matter what his health may be."

Another brother, James Chisolm, a utilities worker, had this to say:

"President Ford has made the biggest blunder that I have ever heard of. He let a criminal go. If Nixon can be free, I figure they should let all the prisoners free. If one man can get away with it, they all should be able to get away with it."

Inmates at the Manhattan House of Detention, known as the Tombs, expressed their outrage over the pardon to *New York Post* reporter Edmund Newton.

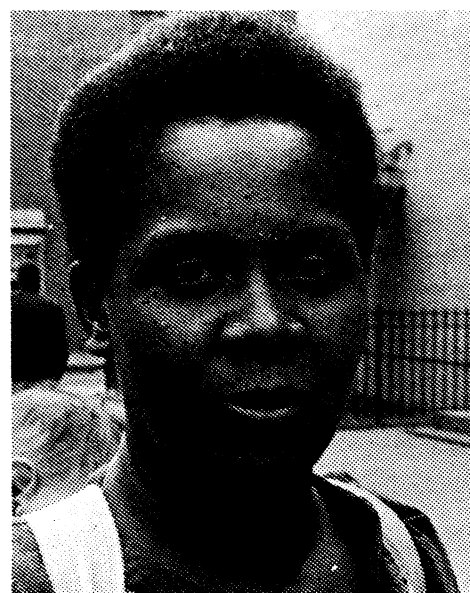
"The whole plan was that if Nixon got busted, Ford was to pardon him," one young inmate told Newton. "That's why he made that dummy the vice president."

This prisoner, who is awaiting trial on robbery charges, said of Nixon: "He's robbing you and me and the whole United States. It's a big hold up. He's holding up the whole nation."

"Nixon should take his medicine," Dennis Gill, a Black maintenance engineer, told *The Militant*. "He's not above the law. Ford's giving him a pardon is going to destroy the Republicans' chances this November. But, you know, both parties are full of shit. We need a new party, new rules, we need a new system."

Another brother, from Honduras, said, "Well, I'm not a citizen, but my personal opinion is that Ford's pardoning Nixon puts into question the whole thing of 'equal justice under the law.' There is only justice really

Continued on page 22



Militant/Norman Oliver

ZENOLA WOODS: 'If it was you or me, we'd be in jail right now.'

J.B. Johnson got no pardon

The hypocrisy of American justice is clearly shown in the case of J. B. Johnson, a Black youth framed up four years ago for a jewelry store robbery in which a University City, Mo., cop was killed.

No one has ever identified Johnson as the accomplice in the robbery, and the other man convicted in the case has even named a different man as his accomplice, but J. B. Johnson remains in jail today, serving a life sentence. Efforts to win a new trial have been continually frustrated by the courts.

Mary Watkins, Johnson's mother, had this to say about the pardon of Nixon:

"The pardon shows the difference between Nixon and J. B. J. B. goes to jail for 99 years for something he didn't do, and Nixon, who should get 'natural life,' gets off free.

"They always talk about everybody being equal. I think the pardon was prearranged. We've got the same thing now with Ford we had with Nixon."

Attica Brothers press fight for freedom

By **KURT HILL**

BUFFALO—Attorneys for the Attica Brothers Legal Defense succeeded Sept. 9 in obtaining a temporary postponement of the beginning of any Attica trials.

State Appeals Court Judge Harry Goldman granted the stay pending a hearing on a new defense motion to change the site of the trials from Buffalo to New York City.

The application for a change of venue is based on the results of an attitudinal survey of the Erie County jury pool. The study confirms the original defense contention that a fair and impartial jury is impossible to obtain in the Buffalo area. The Fair Jury Project report, which drew on a random sample of 651 registered voters throughout Erie County, indicates a strong and pervasive prejudice against Blacks, persons accused of committing crimes, and people seeking social change.

More than half of the jury pool, 53.1 percent, believe it is better to send innocent people to jail than to let some guilty people go free; 63 percent believe that prison revolts are

caused by "outside agitators," rather than by inhuman prison conditions; and 58.5 percent believe that there is no justification for Black militancy.

The survey also confirms defense charges that unfavorable pretrial publicity and lies spread by prison officials have had a deep impact on Erie County public opinion. For instance, 19 percent of the jury pool believed the myth, promoted by state officials, that Attica prisoners slashed the throats of hostages and castrated prison guards.

Meanwhile, pretrial hearings continued before State Supreme Court Justice Carmen Ball in Buffalo. Prior to the postponement, six of the 61 Brothers had been scheduled to begin trial this month.

On Sept. 4 defense attorney Martin Stolar appeared before Ball to request a hearing on a motion to dismiss assault charges against Brother Alfred Plummer. Stolar argued that the dismissal of the case in the interests of justice was clearly indicated since Plummer "suffered punishment sufficient to negate any injuries" allegedly inflicted on an Attica prison guard

at the time of the uprising.

During the assault on Attica, Plummer was shot and paralyzed in one leg. State troopers repeatedly kicked him in an effort to make "the nigger get up." Unable to comply with this demand because of his paralysis, Plummer was shot in the head by police.

The guard Plummer allegedly assaulted suffered only minor lacerations and wrist injuries. He was treated at a local hospital and reported back to work the same day.

Although Ball reserved decision on the motion to dismiss charges, he ordered that the grand jury minutes relating to Plummer's case be submitted to him by Sept. 23. He also set this date for final arguments related to setting the trial dates of several defendants. Attica Brothers scheduled to appear in court at this time are Herbert X Blyden, Roger Champen, Frank "Big Black" Smith, and Richard Fisher.

On Sept. 5 the defense effort received support from the Reverend Jesse Jackson, head of Operation PUSH. The Chicago civil rights leader stated that

his organization is offering "all-out support to the Attica Brothers" in their fight against the frame-ups. He demanded that the 61 indicted Brothers be granted amnesty, and he issued an appeal to vice-president-designate Nelson Rockefeller to meet with him to discuss this matter.

"If Mr. Rockefeller has concluded that Nixon has suffered enough," said Jackson, "then these men have suffered more." Commenting on the \$8-million appropriated by the state legislature to finance the frame-ups, Jackson stated, "It is a travesty of justice that the state has withheld money from the defense while spending millions for the prosecution."

Several thousand people are expected to attend a Sept. 14 Attica defense rally in Buffalo.

The defense is commemorating the third anniversary of the Attica uprising with the publication of *Fighting Back*, a collection of writings and graphics by the Attica Brothers. Copies are available for \$2 through the Attica Brothers Legal Defense, 147 Franklin St., Buffalo, N. Y., 14202.

Socialists' exemption hearing set

Campaign disclosure laws debated in Seattle

By BOB ROWAND

SEATTLE—The Public Disclosure Commission has set Oct. 15 as the hearing date for the Socialist Workers 1974 Washington State Campaign Committee, which is requesting an exemption from the state campaign financing disclosure law.

This law, one of the strictest in the country, requires campaign committees to report the names and addresses of all contributors of \$5 or more. Represented by the Washington Civil Liberties Union, the SWP campaign committee is demanding an exemption on the grounds that to turn over such lists would jeopardize the constitutional rights of its supporters.

The FBI has admitted that the SWP is a target of government surveillance, the socialists point out, so to report

the names of contributors would be to hand the government a ready-made "enemies list."

A lively debate over campaign "reform" laws was sponsored by the Seattle Militant Forum Aug. 9. Speakers were Lauren Selden, executive director of the Washington Civil Liberties Union; Professor John Price of the University of Washington Law School; and Clare Fraenzl, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate.

Common Cause, which actively supports the state disclosure law, was also invited to participate. However, two days before the event Common Cause withdrew, saying it was so advised by the group's national legal department.

While refusing to debate its position in public, Common Cause has written to the Public Disclosure Commission, urging that the SWP campaign committee be denied an exemption.

At the Militant Forum, Professor Price defended disclosure laws as a way to "disinfect" elections. Conceding that the Washington law forces "too many to disclose too much," he suggested that an amendment be made, to "nudge up" the lower end of reporting requirements to \$100 or \$500.

Lauren Selden challenged the idea that campaign "reform" laws are the answer to the corruption revealed by Watergate. The roots of Watergate, he said, go back to the secret bombing during the war in Indochina. "I think we'll find after all these laws are on the books for a decade, we've made no advance and no change," he said.

Fraenzl said the disclosure laws will not clean up capitalist politics, but will increase the obstacles in the way of independent political action, such as the SWP campaigns or independent Black or Chicano candidates.

"These laws do not guarantee the public's 'right to know,'" said Fraenzl.

"Rather, they attack the fundamental right of free and private political association. They expose working people to harassment purely because of their political affiliations."

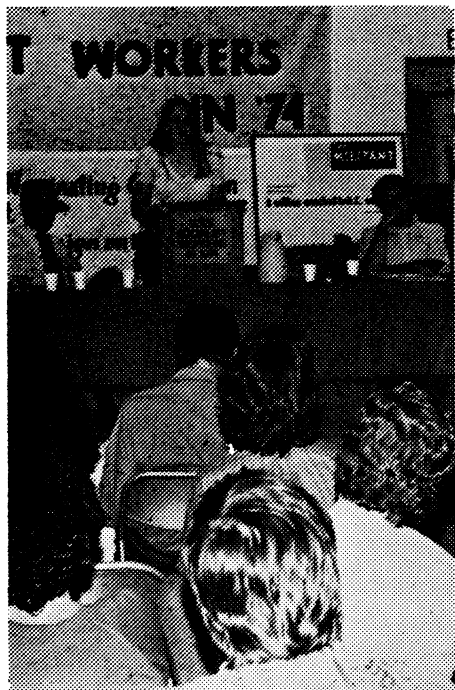
She explained how the law affects the Washington union movement. Each month, the King County Labor Council, the Washington Education Association, and other labor organizations are forced to turn over to the Public Disclosure Commission their membership lists. These lists go on public record, accessible to employers and reactionary "right-to-work" forces.

Fraenzl also blasted the "bounty hunter" clause in the state disclosure law. This clause awards half the fine levied against violators of disclosure

provisions to the person reporting the violation. Right now, the Young Americans for Freedom is suing the president of the King County Labor Council for \$102,000, charging violations of the disclosure law.

"Whether the council wins or loses the case," she pointed out, "it will cost thousands of dollars to defend the labor movement from this attack."

During the discussion, several members of Common Cause rose to express dismay that their group had refused to participate in the debate. Fraenzl reiterated the importance of continued public discussion of the disclosure laws and expressed the hope that Common Cause would join in future debates over this issue.



Socialist senatorial candidate Clare Fraenzl explains fraud of campaign 'reform' laws during Seattle debate.

Teamster backs SWP fight

Jon Rabine, secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 763 in Seattle, has joined in demanding that the Washington Socialist Workers campaign committee be exempted from the state campaign disclosure law. On Aug. 19, Rabine sent the following letter of protest to the Washington Public Disclosure Commission.

In the interest of maintaining a true democracy where all political views can be freely expressed unimpeded by harassment, intimidation or coercion, I wish to express my endorsement of the recent action taken by the American Civil Liberties Union in their defense of the Socialist Workers Party's request for an exemption to the State Public Disclosure Law (Initiative 276).

In the exercise of a true democracy, a citizen must feel free to es-

pouse and support his political beliefs unrestrained by any governmental pressure.

This Law, controlling lobbying and campaign financing, which was obviously conceived to protect the citizenry from unfairly influenced legislation, establishes a serious obstruction to the right of the American people to consider all contending political views when the submission of names of supporters could result in governmental harassment of those same supporters.

Letters supporting exemption for the Socialist Workers 1974 Washington State Campaign Committee should be sent to the Public Disclosure Commission, Insurance Building, Olympia, Wash. 98501. Copies should be sent to the campaign committee at 5623 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105.

Calif. campaign 'reform' law challenged by SWP

By MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

LOS ANGELES—At news conferences here and in San Francisco and San Diego Sept. 10, Socialist Workers Party candidates announced the filing of a lawsuit against the California campaign disclosure law.

This is the first legal challenge to the disclosure laws here since the passage of California's new campaign "reform" law, Proposition 9, on June 4. Common Cause and People's Lobby spent almost \$1-million selling Proposition 9 to voters here. The Democratic candidate for governor, Edmund Brown Jr., has made campaign disclosure the central plank of his election platform.

The Southern California American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed the suit with the California Supreme Court. In 205 pages, the brief and supporting affidavits document the history of harassment of SWP members and campaign supporters in the state, and argue that under these circumstances it is unconstitutional to require the socialist campaign committees to turn over the names of contributors.

Mark Rosenbaum, the ACLU staff counsel who prepared the brief, described to the news conference here the types of harassment the SWP has suffered. The attacks include the 1970 arson attack at the Los Angeles so-

cialist campaign headquarters by counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles with ties to the CIA.

"What is involved here," Rosenbaum said, "is a sustained, concerted campaign, reaching into the very top levels of the government, to disrupt the activities of the SWP, intimidate and drive away its supporters, and frustrate the party's attempt to participate in the electoral process in this country."

Rosenbaum explained that the issues in the suit "ultimately affect the rights of any group that dissents from the status quo to organize itself into a political party, without endangering its supporters, in order to put its alternative before American voters."

Olga Rodriguez, SWP candidate for governor of California, told the Los Angeles news conference that the campaign "reform" laws are a hoax. "These laws have nothing to do with preventing the corruption of the electoral process by the wealthy," she said.

"The campaign disclosure laws are designed to maintain the stranglehold of the Democrats and Republicans, drive the labor movement out of politics, and intimidate and subvert the election campaigns of parties like the SWP and La Raza Unida Party. They give the government a weapon to use against any new independent political



Militant/John Gray

Los Angeles socialist campaign offices after 1970 arson attack. SWP suit cites such attacks in demand for exemption from disclosure provisions in new state law.

formation that may arise, such as a labor party or a Black party," she said.

Dan Styron, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate from California, appeared at the San Francisco news conference announcing the suit.

Statements of support for the lawsuit were received from Congressman Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.); David Crippen, executive director of Social

Services Employees Union, Local 535; Julia Luna Mount, Peace and Freedom Party candidate for state senate; Donald Freed, playwright; David Creque, American Federation of Teachers, Local 771, and executive board member of Alameda County Central Labor Council; and Jan Tucker, chairperson of the Los Angeles County Peace and Freedom Party.

Socialist suit against U.S. campaign act: 'We're not handing gov't any enemies list!'

By CINDY JAQUITH

WASHINGTON, D. C. — "President Ford has just pardoned Nixon, a criminal, while the Socialist Workers Party, which is not even charged with any crimes, continues to be harassed and victimized by the government," Maceo Dixon told reporters here Sept. 10. Dixon is the cochairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee.

"Under these circumstances of continued surveillance," he stated, "it is an outrage for the government to demand that we comply with campaign 'reform' laws by handing over lists of our contributors."

Dixon was speaking at a news conference called by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to announce the filing of a major lawsuit against the 1971 Federal Election Campaign Act.

The ACLU suit was filed here in U.S. District Court Sept. 10 by attorneys Joel Gora and Paul Chevigny on behalf of the national and state Socialist Workers campaign committees. It seeks a ruling that the federal campaign disclosure law, as it applies to the socialist campaign committees, is unconstitutional.

This law, which went into effect in 1972, requires campaign committees to periodically turn over to the government the name, address, and place of occupation of each contributor of more than \$100, as well as the names of those receiving money spent by the committee. In addition, records available to the government must be kept on all contributors of more than \$10.

'Outrageous requirements'

"These requirements are outrageous," Dixon said, "when the government has made it clear that it considers support or even association with the SWP an offense punishable by illegal surveillance, mail tampering, job loss, burglary, and violence."

Dixon referred to a second major legal challenge by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance, a suit against illegal government harassment filed in July 1973 by attorney Leonard Boudin. In response to that suit, the FBI has already admitted to intercepting the socialists' mail, wiretapping, and conducting an "SWP Disruption Program."

"For us to turn over names of our contributors means to supply the government with ready-made lists of individuals who will only become new targets for this type of harassment," Dixon said.

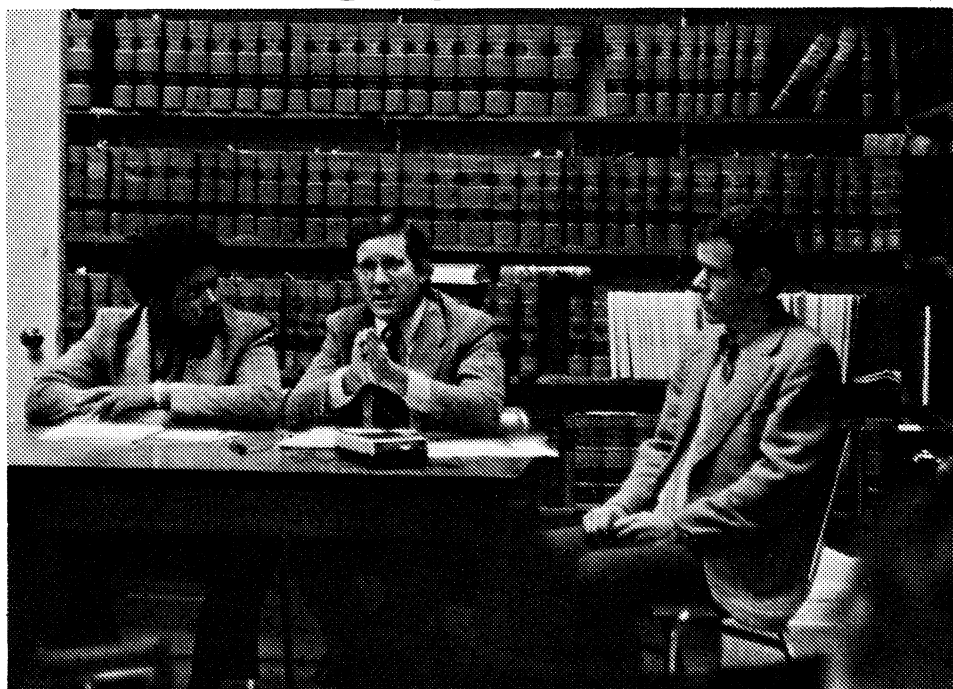
"As chairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee, I am not turning over any such lists."

As of the June 10, 1974, filing date for campaign financial reports, the socialist campaign committees have refused to list the names of contributors, while complying with all other provisions of the federal law. In addition, the campaign committees are challenging similar disclosure laws in 13 states and the District of Columbia.

Simultaneously with refusal to list contributors in the June 10 reports, the socialist campaign committees requested through their attorneys a hearing on their demand for exemption from the federal law. The law provides for such hearings in contested cases.

Gov't denies hearing

However, in the case of the Socialist Workers campaign committees, the government illegally denied the right to a hearing.



American Civil Liberties Union attorney Joel Gora explains constitutional issues in suit. With him are Maceo Dixon (left), cochairman of Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee, and Syd Stapleton (right), national secretary of Political Rights Defense Fund.

On June 29, W. Pat Jennings, clerk of the House of Representatives, wrote to the ACLU attorneys, denying both the request for a hearing and the request for exemption from the law. He stated that if the campaign committees did not comply with the disclosure provisions, "I will have no choice but to refer such non-compliance as an apparent violation to the Attorney General of the United States."

Sept. 10 was the next date for the filing of campaign financial reports. The socialist campaign committees again filed reports without listing the names of contributors.

Attorney Joel Gora explained at the news conference the key constitutional issues at stake in the ACLU suit.

"The ACLU has become concerned with the recent wave of campaign reform legislation and the seeming ignoring of civil liberties that much of this legislation contains," he said.

When applied to groups such as the SWP, he explained, the disclosure laws threaten "the right of privacy, right to associate with individuals or groups without government surveillance or government disclosure, and the right of political anonymity—rights which were central in the creation of the First Amendment."

The ACLU believes, he continued, that "the disclosure statute is invalid on its face. Even as applied to the major parties, there is a serious question of its constitutionality."

'Campaign of disruption'

Attorney Paul Chevigny, who also addressed the news conference, noted the contradictory position the government is in. "The SWP," he said, "has been subjected to a long history of government harassment, a campaign that has been admitted by the government to be a campaign of disruption—and I use the word used by the FBI itself with respect to their so-called COINTELPRO program."

"In such a case, where there is a history of harassment that can be proven by our side, and which is in large part admitted by the government," Chevigny explained, "it is an impermissible invasion of freedom of association to require that the names of contributors be reported."

Details of government attacks on the SWP were presented by Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), the group building support for the socialists' lawsuit against government

wiretapping, police infiltration, surveillance, and attempted intimidation.

This suit names past and present government figures as defendants, including Richard Nixon. Stapleton stressed at the news conference that "Ford's pardon of Nixon has no effect on civil suits of this kind."

Cover-up continues

"We plan to continue with this suit against Nixon," he said, "and we think it's all the more important now that it's clear that the cover-up of the crimes of the Nixon administration is continuing under Ford."

"Suits of this kind give an opportunity to draw out the facts about Nixon's illegal activities against dissenters, activities that we believe are still being carried out today."

Several reporters at the news conference asked questions about the nature of the campaign "reform" laws.

In response, Dixon cited a recent report in the *New York Times* that Democratic contenders in the New York State gubernatorial race "have gotten tens of thousands of dollars over what they were supposed to have legally received in contributions. But the article goes on to state that nothing's going to happen about it!"

These laws don't make a dent in the corruption of the two capitalist parties, he explained. "In fact, far from ending corruption, these laws are perpetuating the most corrupt aspect of

American politics: the monopoly by the Democratic and Republican parties on political action in this country."

The real victims of the disclosure provisions, he said, are independent Black and Chicano candidates, socialists, and trade unions, whose right to participate in politics is severely restricted by these laws.

Labor political action

"Today trade-union officials are misdirecting the power of the unions by supporting Democrats and Republicans," Dixon said, "but that mistaken policy should be turned around by the labor movement itself. We reject any government interference whatsoever in the political activities of the unions."

"Mr. Dixon, what measures does the Socialist Workers Party favor for reforming the two-party system?" asked a reporter.

"We do not believe that the two capitalist parties can be reformed," Dixon replied. "But there are some important changes in the electoral process that we wholeheartedly support."

"Democratic and Republican politicians, and groups such as Common Cause, are talking about the need to clean up election campaigns. We urge them to support the SWP's right to be on the ballot. We wish they would express concern about the illegal attacks on our campaign committees by government agents."

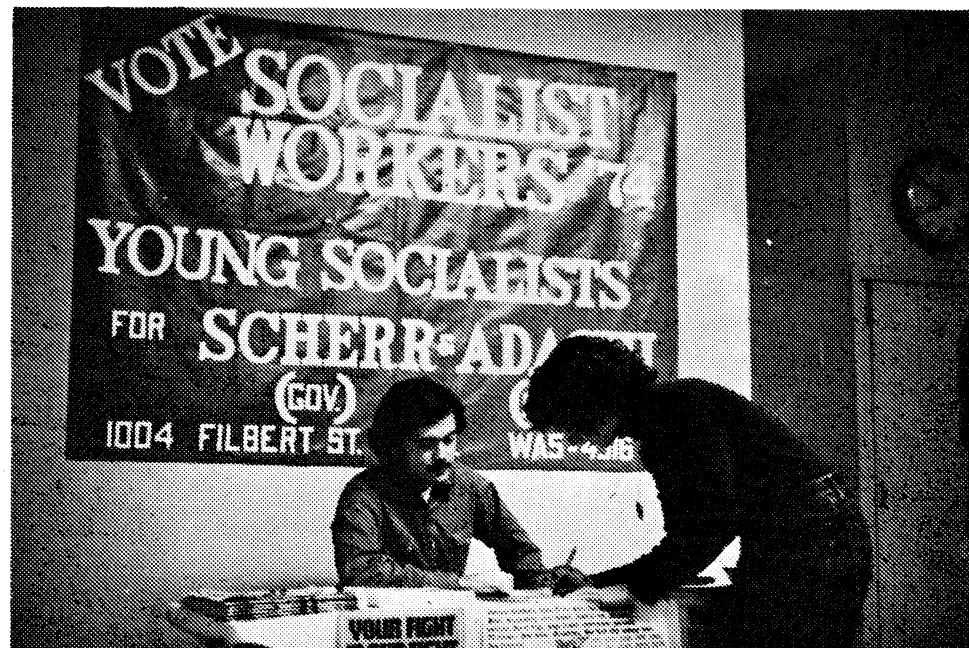
"Under the present laws," Dixon explained, "the SWP has to get hundreds of thousands of signatures in order to get on the ballot. We have to face 'loyalty' oaths in some states, and unconstitutional age or residency requirements. And then they still try to throw us off the ballot!"

"We think we have a democratic right to be on the ballot without having to go through all this harassment," he said.

"We run as socialists against the Democrats and Republicans, because we don't think the basic character of the two capitalist parties can be changed. They were constructed from the very beginning to serve the interests of the rich."

"We are for Blacks, Chicanos, and other working people forming their own government—a workers government. Such a government would rule in the interests of the vast majority, not the tiny minority in power today."

"This is the alternative we put forward in our campaigns, and this is why the government has conducted such a persistent campaign of attacks against us."



"For us to turn over names of our supporters is to give government ready-made list of targets for harassment," Dixon said.

Wounded Knee trial: how U.S. gov't has conspired to frame Indian defendants

By LEE GEARHART

ST. PAUL—Can Richard Nixon go scot-free while two American Indian Movement leaders go to prison?

That question will be put to the jury here in the Wounded Knee trial, says defense attorney William Kunstler.

The jury was expected to begin deliberating Sept. 12 as one of the longest frame-up trials in American history draws to a close.

Justice will be put to the critical test.

Dennis Banks and Russell Means face years in prison, while former president Nixon, whose administration brought the charges against the two AIM leaders, won't stand trial, thanks to Ford's unconditional pardon.

Final arguments in the eight-month trial were being made as *The Militant* went to press.

As Kunstler told *The Militant* this week, Banks's and Means's "only crime was to protest in order to present legitimate grievances of their people."

Yet they face five felony counts each, including assault and conspiracy, for their leadership role in last year's 71-day seizure of Wounded Knee, S.D. Five other counts against the two were dropped last month.

In the St. Paul offices of Attorney Kenneth Tilsen, where the Wounded Knee attorneys are headquartered, Kunstler relaxed in a chair Sept. 9 and talked about the trial.

Boxes of files, packed with documents, sat along one side of the room. A desk was strewn with notes of the speeches to the jury.

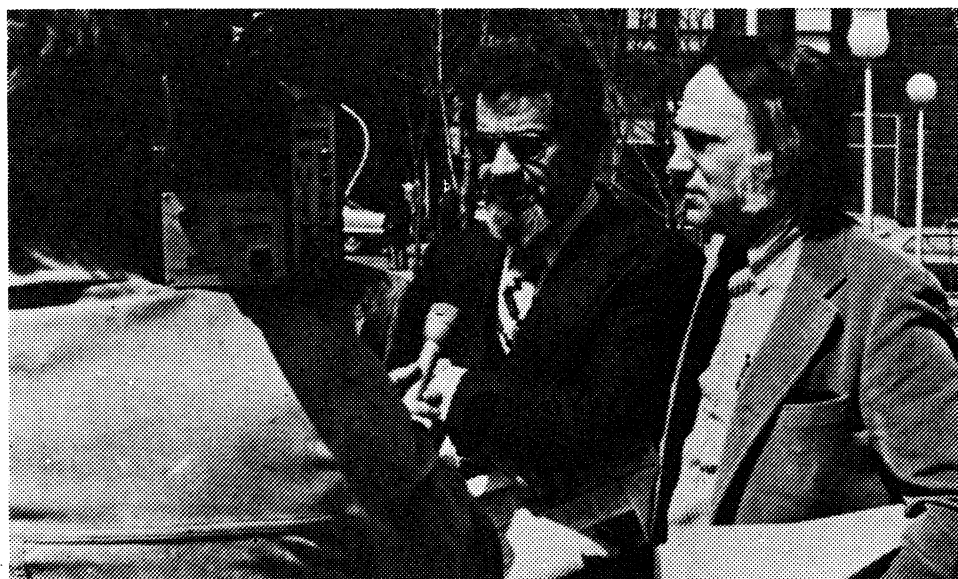
Government conspiracy

"The only conspiracy at Wounded Knee was the governmental one," Kunstler said. "The nature of that conspiracy was to turn legitimate and appropriate protest into a long and enervating trial for the purpose of destroying or tying down the American Indian Movement—in the same fashion as it attempted to destroy the antiwar movement through the trials of Doctor Spock, the Chicago 7, Philip Berrigan and Company, and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War."

"The government isn't interested in truth or justice but only in persecution. They want to use the judicial process to destroy the First Amendment and to hide the real causes of Indian discontent in the United States."

There was a certain irony Sept. 10 as chief prosecuting attorney Richard Hurd strode to the lectern and began his final argument.

Concentrate on the criminal acts



Defense attorneys Mark Lane (left) and William Kunstler. Trial's purpose, says Kunstler, is 'to destroy American Indian Movement.'

committed by Banks and Means, Hurd told the jury, and not on historical injustices against American Indians.

Even as Hurd addressed the jury, White House spokesmen were saying in Washington that President Ford was considering pardoning all the Watergate defendants.

While two Indian activists who have continually maintained their innocence are on the threshold of prison, self-confessed criminals who have the good fortune of having friends in high places may be on the threshold of being released.

AIM turncoat

Although the trial evidence shows that full acquittal is the only just solution, it is unclear how the jury will vote, once they are locked into their room in the St. Paul Federal Building to deliberate. The government's final ploy, a combined smear and fabrication of testimony by an AIM turncoat, may have considerably damaged, rather than aided, the prosecution.

The turncoat, Louis Moves Camp, was brought to the stand as the prosecution's star witness after both sides had rested their cases.

He gave "evidence" against Banks and Means on each of the five counts.

Moves Camp testified that he had heard Means say he was glad after a U.S. marshal was shot. The assault on the marshal was one of the charges against Banks and Means. Moves Camp testified he saw Means give Bruce Johnson an eagle feather during a ceremony as if to reward Johnson for the shooting. The government has recently charged Johnson with the shooting.

The evidence, however, refutes

Moves Camp's testimony.

"Russell was in Rosebud, S.D., at the time the ceremony was supposedly taking place," says defense attorney Mark Lane. "Ken Tilsen was in Wounded Knee sleeping in Russell's bed and there was no ceremony in which Russell gave Johnson an eagle feather."

"Most important, Moves Camp wasn't in Wounded Knee then."

"We know he was in California almost the whole time of the seizure,"

to Moves Camp for a period in which he was held in seclusion by the FBI, waiting to testify. He got \$36 a day.

In addition, Moves Camp was given a \$1,000 "bonus" by the government to relocate from South Dakota to Missouri. "He rejected the relocation but took the \$1,000 anyway," said Lane.

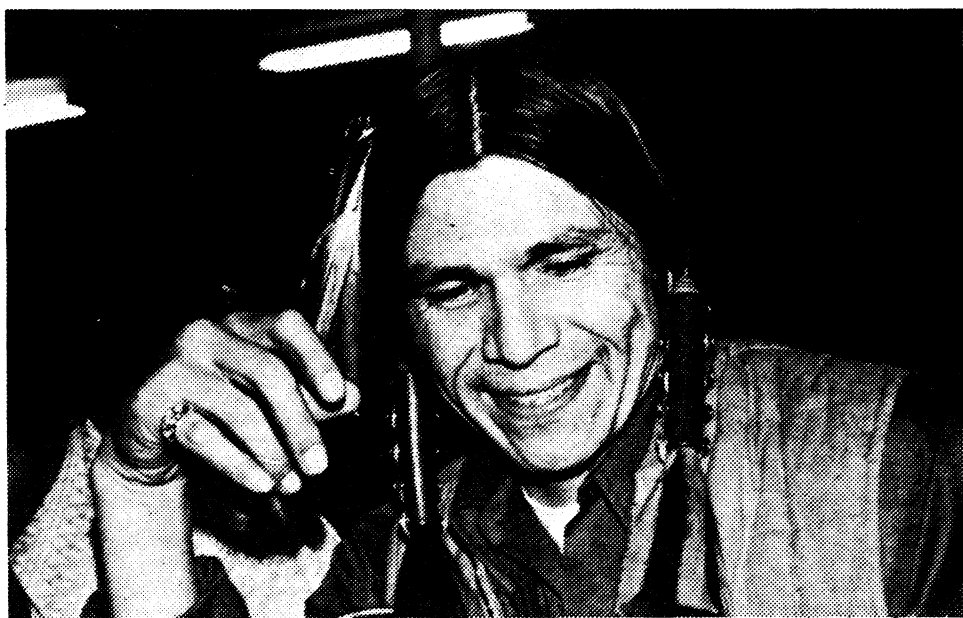
The defense believes that since Moves Camp was not at Wounded Knee at the time he says he was, the elaborate "evidence" he gave at the trial was fed to him by the government agents who coached him last month. Moves Camp remained with FBI agents for several weeks last month.

Moves Camp's most bizarre testimony was that he was present at a meeting of Banks, Means, and Moves Camp's mother at Wounded Knee with representatives of the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, East and West Germany, Italy, and Czechoslovakia.

Moves Camp also alleged that at the AIM treaty convention in Mobridge, S.D., in June of this year, he attended a meeting in a lodge where he said he witnessed an agreement between Banks and Means and representatives of those countries.

The Communist representatives pledged whatever money or military assistance was required by the Indians, Moves Camp alleged.

A check from the Chinese, drawn



Chris Cowap

Defendant Dennis Banks. His only crime 'was to protest in order to present legitimate grievances of the Indian people.'

Lane said. "He claimed he was in Wounded Knee from Feb. 27 to May 1. He actually left in March—March 10 at the latest."

The evidence shows, Lane said, that Moves Camp was in California from March 17 on. There is a picture of Moves Camp in a California college newspaper published in March. There are logs from a cable television station where Moves Camp was interviewed on April 23 and 26. There is testimony refuting Moves Camp's assertions of his whereabouts from a man at whose house Moves Camp stayed in California. Also testifying as rebuttal witnesses for the defense were Moves Camp's wife and mother.

There appears to be a motive behind Moves Camp's testimony. The defense introduced evidence that Moves Camp got agreement that he would not be tried for a rape charge in return for turning state's evidence.

FBI payoff

Also, the defense presented evidence of a government payoff to Moves Camp. Defense attorneys showed that Moves Camp was paid \$2,074.50 by the U.S. government for his "services" while he was testifying and waiting to testify. Most of the money was paid

on a New York bank, was given to AIM, Moves Camp said.

Kunstler's remark in court at the absurdity of Moves Camp's charges led to giggling in the audience Aug. 22, an order by the judge to evict several Indian spectators, and the eventual jailing of Kunstler and Lane.

Hypocritical judge

Judge Fred Nichol later tried to tell the jury, hypocritically, that it should not be prejudiced against the defendants as a result of the jailing of the attorneys.

The judge's continual sharp criticism of the defense attorneys ever since the trial testimony began in February could affect the jury's verdict—perhaps for the worse.

A conviction would not only put two major Indian activists behind bars but would be a setback to the entire Indian struggle. It would be a blow against all movements fighting for social change.

Banks and Means and the rest of the American Indian Movement stood up to the government at Wounded Knee. Their cause was just. They are innocent of the charges against them.

If justice is to be served, they will be acquitted.



Militant/Muffie Page

Defendant Russell Means. AIM turncoat on witness stand tried to link Means to shooting of U.S. marshal.

Texas officials try to exclude socialist nominees from ballot

By JEAN SAVAGE

HOUSTON—In recent days news media throughout Texas have been reporting the Socialist Workers Party's fight against an attempt by the secretary of state to deny the SWP ballot status in the November elections.

On June 27 the SWP filed 55,661 signatures on nominating petitions, far exceeding the legal requirement of 34,095 signatures.

Nevertheless, on Sept. 5 Secretary of State Mark White announced that he intended to postpone certification of the SWP for ballot status. At the same time White said he was certifying the only other party to petition—the right-wing American Party—although it submitted far fewer signatures than the SWP.

[The Democratic and Republican parties and La Raza Unida Party, the independent Chicano party, were certified after holding primaries earlier this year, having received enough votes in the previous election to automatically qualify for ballot status.]

White said he intended to deny the socialist candidates ballot status on the basis of a "random sample" of 556 signatures from the petitions. He claimed that only 27 percent of the signatures were valid, while 62 percent would have to be valid to meet the legal requirement.

White's final decision will be made after a ruling by Attorney General John Hill on the legality of using random samples to check the petitions. White told reporters that if Hill ruled that all the signatures had to be checked, he would have to certify the SWP, since his office did not have the money or personnel to check every signature.

The secretary of state's action was immediately denounced by the Socialist Workers Party campaign. Sherry Smith, SWP candidate for governor, called it "an outrageous denial of our rights as a party and of the right of all Texas voters to make their own free choice in the elections."

"The Democrats and Republicans who run this state have rigged the election laws to make it as difficult as possible for smaller parties to get on the ballot," Smith said. "At great expense and through thousands of hours of work by volunteers, we have fully complied with these undemocratic



More than 55,000 Texans signed petitions to put SWP on ballot

Militant/Nelson Blackstock

laws. So now the state wants to trample on the wishes of the more than 55,000 Texas voters who signed to put us on the ballot."

Smith continued, "This attack by the secretary of state follows a pattern of harassment of socialist campaigns in Texas from the bombing and machine-gunning of our campaign headquarters in 1971 to the recently admitted police infiltration of the SWP in Houston."

Smith pointed out that so-called validation checks by Democratic and Republican state officials have invariably been found to be discriminatory and fraudulent, with many valid signatures not counted. She said it was especially outrageous to try to disqualify the SWP after checking, by the secretary of state's admission, only 1 percent of the signatures.

At a Sept. 10 news conference Smith and American Civil Liberties Union attorney Michael Maness announced that if the secretary of state does rule the SWP off the ballot, a suit will be filed in the Texas Supreme Court Sept. 17 to reverse the decision.

The SWP has launched a drive to collect protest telegrams and letters demanding that the 10 socialist candidates be placed on the ballot.

Among those supporting the SWP's right to ballot status are Gertrude Barnstone, former Houston school

board member and member of Women's Equity Action League; Mario Cantu, leader of the antideportation organization CASA in San Antonio; Doctor Thomas De Gregori, University of Houston; Reverend Gerald Hoskins; Reverend Webster Kitchell; attorney David Lopez; and State Representative Ron Waters.

Many leaders of the Texas Raza Unida Party have also expressed their backing for the SWP's fight for a place on the ballot. They include José Angel Gutiérrez; Mario Compean, RUP state chairman; Ramsey Muñoz, candidate for governor; Tacho Mindiola, Harris County chairman; and Reuben Rabago, candidate for state representative.

The Young Socialist Alliance has joined this effort by setting up campaign tables daily at the University of Houston, collecting protest telegrams from more than 50 professors and students. Members of the YSA in San Antonio, Dallas, and Austin are also collecting telegrams.

A protest rally has been organized for Sept. 20 at 8 p.m. at the statewide campaign headquarters in Houston, 3311 Montrose. Speakers will include Sherry Smith and Michael Maness.

Another protest rally is planned for Sept. 27 at the University of Texas in Austin.

Antiwar groups win right to inspect FBI files

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

PHILADELPHIA — Philadelphia Resistance and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) here have won the right to inspect FBI documents on harassment of their members.

The documents are about the FBI's COINTELPRO ("counterintelligence program") operations against the two organizations. COINTELPRO was also aimed at Black organizations, the Socialist Workers Party, and other radical groups.

Access to the memos was won through a lawsuit against FBI spying filed by Resistance, AFSC, and individual members of the two groups. On Aug. 16, Federal District Court Judge Donald Van Arsdale granted a "discovery motion" by the plaintiffs for the documents. His ruling allows members of both organizations and their attorneys to read the memos, but forbids discussion of the documents with anyone else.

The suit was originally filed in July 1971 in the wake of concentrated harassment of Resistance and AFSC activists in Philadelphia. The suit seeks an injunction against further FBI spying.

During the course of the suit the government has revealed that more than 100 FBI agents were involved in the spying. Several individuals were under surveillance for 10 to 14 hours a day. Telephones were tapped and people were photographed going about personal business.

The FBI has tried to justify this harassment by claiming it was part of an investigation of the 1971 raid on the Media, Pa., FBI office, during which files were removed and later published. However, David Rudofsky, an attorney for the plaintiffs, says that "no connection has been shown between the Media action and the harassment" of Resistance and AFSC activists.

The two organizations and their attorneys decided to request the FBI documents after the revelations about COINTELPRO attacks against the New Left, Black liberation organizations, and the SWP. The documents "will be helpful in the litigation of our suit and will give insight into the whole COINTELPRO operation," Rudofsky told *The Militant*.

The suit by Resistance and AFSC is similar to the legal challenge filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in July 1973 against government spying. The socialist suit has brought to light other documents concerning COINTELPRO, particularly memos on the "SWP Disruption Program."

Mo. court hears SWP ballot case

By FRED MURPHY

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—The Missouri Supreme Court heard arguments Sept. 9 on a suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party against Secretary of State James Kirkpatrick.

The suit, asking the court to order Kirkpatrick to recheck SWP nomi-

nating petitions, is an attempt to reverse his ruling that the SWP had not collected enough signatures for ballot status.

Petitioners gathered 29,014 signatures to put Barbara Mutnick on the ballot as socialist candidate for U. S. Senate. The legal requirement is 17,844.

The suit was filed after a spot check by campaign supporters revealed that thousands of signatures on the petitions had been falsely invalidated by the secretary of state's staff. Among the signatures not counted was that of Barbara Mutnick herself.

Attorney Robert Sears, representing the SWP, argued before the court that Kirkpatrick, in an arbitrary and discriminatory manner, had added an unwarranted restriction that signers of nominating petitions must be registered to vote. In all prior cases signers only needed to be qualified to vote; that is, 18 years of age or older and a Missouri resident.

It was clear from the justices' manner of questioning that their sympathies lie with Kirkpatrick and that

they are as determined as he is to find a way to keep the SWP off the ballot. Their bias was so blatant that the *United Press International* story on the hearing began, "For the first time in recent memory, the Supreme Court justices argued the case for the state."

It is not known when a decision will be handed down by the court.

In a statement to reporters after the hearing, Barbara Mutnick said, "Secretary Kirkpatrick has lied about our petitions and in doing so has violated my right to run for office and the right of voters to cast their votes for the Socialist Workers Party. The Supreme Court should reverse this blatant attack and direct Kirkpatrick to place my name on the November ballot."

"I can assure my supporters around the state, as well as Secretary Kirkpatrick and my opponents, Senator Eagleton and Mr. Curtis," Mutnick said, "that no matter what the court decides, I will continue my campaign to present the socialist alternative to the voters of Missouri."



Militant/Henry Snipper

MUTNICK: 'Socialist campaign will continue no matter what court decides.'

Newark lessons

Since the election of Kenneth Gibson as mayor in 1970, Newark has been held up by many in the Black and Puerto Rican movements as an example of how support to Democratic politicians yields advantages for the struggle.

The recent rebellion against racism, poverty, and police brutality in the city's Puerto Rican community has exposed this notion as false.

The essential conditions in the city are the same as in July 1967, when thousands of Newark's Blacks and Puerto Ricans took to the streets to protest police brutality and oppressive conditions. At least 26 were killed by police and national guards called in against the rebellion.

That rebellion demonstrated the potential power of the Black and Puerto Rican communities in Newark, which make up well over half the population.

In 1968 and 1969, conventions based on the Black and Puerto Rican communities met to try to move toward the organization of Black and Puerto Rican political power. However, these conventions endorsed candidates like Gibson who were committed to the Democratic Party—the party of the racist slumlords, bankers, and capitalists responsible for the oppressive conditions of Newark's Black and Puerto Rican communities.

Many of the same Black and Puerto Rican groups that Mayor Gibson is now denouncing as "troublemakers" played a key role in these conventions.

Newark's Puerto Rican community rebelled again, after the savage police attacks on a Puerto Rican festival on Sept. 1. A demonstration against police brutality the next day was ruthlessly broken up by the cops, at Gibson's order.

Gibson banned demonstrations against cop repression and branded fighters for Puerto Rican and Black freedom as "outside agitators." He demonstrated where his real loyalties lie: with the Democratic Party and the big business interests behind it.

A Black or a Puerto Rican mayor who is committed to the Democratic Party is not going to take money out of the hands of the banks and insurance companies that control Newark to provide the housing, jobs, and recreational and cultural facilities the Puerto Rican and Black people of Newark need.

What is needed is a break from supporting the capitalist parties, and political action by the Black and Puerto Rican people with the aim of taking control of the city out of the hands of the capitalist parties and giving the Puerto Rican and Black communities control over their lives.

Chile revelations

One year after the military coup in Chile, revelations of U. S. involvement in the bloody right-wing takeover are growing. In secret testimony before a congressional subcommittee, CIA director William Colby admitted that Washington mounted a multimillion-dollar campaign to topple the Allende regime. (See story on page 4.)

The imperialists viewed CIA subversion in Chile as a routine part of their continual counterrevolutionary war to maintain capitalist superexploitation of the colonial and neocolonial countries. Representative Michael Harrington, who read the classified transcript of Colby's testimony, remarked that it was "almost clinical—as if you had a well-trained surgeon called in to describe procedures."

The revelations show Henry Kissinger, with his carefully cultivated image as a subtle diplomat and intellectual, in his true role as chief agent of Washington's most brutal schemes.

As a spokesman for the "free world," Kissinger often says in public that he opposes interference with the internal affairs of other countries. But listen to him speaking to a secret committee meeting on CIA activities on June 27, 1970: "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go Communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people."

Congress is continuing its cover-up of the CIA's role. Harrington has asked for public hearings into the question, but, he says, "there's a disinclination in Congress to even get into some areas that might peripherally damage or embarrass Kissinger."

We in the United States have a special obligation to the people of Chile. Hundreds of people have participated in protest actions this week organized by the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners and other groups. The latest revelations should spur renewed efforts to unearth the full truth about the U. S. role in Chile, and further protests against complicity with the military dictatorship.

Open all the secret files!
End all aid to the junta!
Free all Chilean political prisoners!

Jim Cannon

The news of James Cannon's death was a shock to me as I'm sure it was to all of you, and I join with all revolutionaries everywhere in honoring him. His long life of service to the socialist revolution stands as an example to all of us who support and are working for that common goal.

I have no doubt that the present and impending difficulties of international capital spell hope for all those who suffer beneath its oppression and that the future holds tremendous opportunities for a revolutionary Marxist party.

K. M.
New York, N. Y.

Defining socialism

I must acknowledge the help you (and your publication) have been in defining the socialist alternative for my friends and me. *The Militant* has supplied us with much information that we have used to educate ourselves and others in revolutionary Marxism and the socialist alternative to capitalism. Especially helpful has been your continuing coverage of the fascist coup in Chile—an event that has been almost completely forgotten by the bourgeois press.

D. R.
Brunswick, Maine

Informative

Please send me a year of *The Militant*.

I particularly enjoy those issues of your paper that cover the stories involving the Chicano and Native American politics of the Southwest (I am normally a resident of Albuquerque, N.M.) There are no local, and few national, periodicals that bother with this information.

L. W.
Binghamton, N. Y.

Big sport

Watergate showed us how the Democrats and Republicans conspire to steal our money, spy on our private lives, corrupt democracy, and then get off scot-free. A parallel to this in the sports field is the case of George Steinbrenner, the chief owner of the New York Yankees.

This season the Bronx Bombers have been playing their home games across the river at Shea Stadium, home of the New York Mets. Why? Because Yankee Stadium is being renovated to the tune of \$60-million! And who's footing the bill for Steinbrenner's playground? Not Steinbrenner, that's for sure!

It seems big sport George managed to influence Democratic and Republican politicians into getting the working people of New York City to foot the cost. Steinbrenner has confessed to concealing illegal campaign donations of \$142,000.

The violations carry a maximum penalty of 55 years in prison and \$100,000 in fines. Steinbrenner pleaded guilty to two charges that could have gotten him six years and \$15,000 in fines. He paid the fines, plus another \$20,000, from his American Shipbuilding Company—all hardly a dent in this millionaire's pocket. And the people of New York City are still shelling out that \$60-million so Steinbrenner

can add some more millions to that fat pocket!

There is nothing wrong with building and expanding sports—it is a form of leisure highly valued by the people, and rightly so. But "the house that Ruth built" was adequate for the time being.

However, under capitalism the priorities always go in favor of profit for the few—and Steinbrenner did a lot of influence-peddling to assure that the irrational and ill-timed priorities weren't turned around.

Sam Chetta
Catskill, N. Y.

Copper strike

The month-long strike for a three-year contract in the copper industry ended in mid-August. Anaconda, Kennecott, Phelps Dodge, American Smelting and Refining, and Magma—the "Big Five" copper companies—expanding and reaping record profits, settled around industry-wide parity in the wage structure. This was the central demand put forward by the steering committee of the national Nonferrous Industry Conference dominated by the Steelworkers union.

Leaders of the 26-union coalition had projected no strikes this year if the industry would just agree to a ridiculously low wage increase—86.5 cents in three years—so long as wages were equalized throughout the industry. But the industry was so adamant and the unions so fragmented that the union leaders were forced to call a strike to achieve their modest goal of industry-wide parity.

Copper workers, kept ignorant of the contract negotiations, showed their dissatisfaction with their working conditions and with their leadership in five wildcat strikes. These unauthorized strikes protested compulsory overtime clauses in the contract, arbitrary firing of workers, and the no-strike clause around grievances, secret negotiations by the steering committee, and the denial of the local right to ratify their own contract.

Betsy McDonald
Tucson, Ariz.

Attica

[The following is an open letter signed by 81 prisoners at the state penitentiary in McAlester, Okla.]

Although we at the fortress-dungeon of McAlester did not suffer the mass murder that our brothers at Attica did, we did carry out a revolutionary insurrection in July 1973; we did suffer through a year of post-insurrectionary gassings and beatings; we did suffer the loss of one of our dear comrades, Bobby Forsythe, through his being murdered by brutal, sadistic pigs. In short, we share more with our brothers in Attica than the mere fact that we are also victims of America's concentration camps for the poor.

Our message to the world is: We, the captives of capitalism at "Big Mac," give our full and unequivocal support to the Attica Brothers, comrades who are being persecuted for their selfless and socially enriching revolutionary acts against the anti-social, police-judicial/prison-industrial complex and the inequitable capitalist system in general. Our call is to all proletarian and subproletarian



people who are being forced to live under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. We implore all poor people to rise up and demand an end to the travesty on justice that is euphemistically being called the "trial" of the Attica Brothers.

*Prisoners
McAlester, Okla.*

People will remember

This is just a note of appreciation to everyone at *The Militant* for doing a great job in delivering the word.

I have been receiving and reading *The Militant* consistently for close to a year or more, and it has been very effective and instrumental in raising my political consciousness.

Stay on the job serving the people and the people will remember you.

*A prisoner
Pennsylvania*

Con Ed

A month ago, New York painters of District Council 9 picketed the Consolidated Edison powerhouse under construction in Astoria, Queens. Con Edison is using their own painters, paying them less than the prevailing union wage scales.

In an article in the *Engineering News-Record* of June 27 concerning the Associated Builders and Contractors (ABC), a national group of open-shop firms, it is pointed out that open-shop contractors are making gains in the Midwest and South, where utilities are expanding. More than \$4-billion worth of power plant construction is scheduled or under way in North and South Carolina alone, mostly being done by open-shop firms.

Perhaps Con Ed has been inspired by their counterparts in other areas to make a breakthrough in New York City. Because of the serious nature of this encroachment on union standards by one of the world's largest private utilities, the union, which up to now has relied primarily on pensioners for picketing duty, called on its general membership to come down and demonstrate.

The pickets were spirited and aggressive. There were several altercations with policemen who were trying to let cars through the main gate, and it seemed that fights would develop on several occasions. But the policemen were unsuccessful in getting the cars through, and had to reach for other entrances to divert the pickets.

Steamfitters and engineers respected the picket line and cement trucks making deliveries also turned away.

It is vital for all building-trades unions to develop this solidarity more completely to overcome the thrusts being made here in New York City (and nationally) against their organizations. Allowing Con Ed to get away with this would be a dangerous precedent.

*H.G.
New York, N.Y.*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

What brand does he use?—"It's my judgment from reading the tea leaves that inflation will taper off toward the end of the year."—Arthur Wood, chairman of Sears Roebuck.

Demand and demand?—California, a major supplier of the nation's food, reports that production of plums, nectarines, dried peas, beef, and turkey will be at record levels this year. And, they report, likewise with prices.

Los Angeles, USA—Researchers confirmed that official Los Angeles smog measuring devices were rigged to understate the extent of air poisoning. According to the California Air Pollution Research Center, this means there were 30 percent more oxidants in the air than reported. "This has a lot of implications," a spokesperson for the state agency said.

Our national priorities—In the event of a new fuel shortage, tobacco farmers will be guaranteed 100 percent of their gasoline needs. The Federal Energy Ad-

ministration has decided tobacco will have a higher priority than such nonsense as transportation, sanitation, or manufacture of medicine.

They must be paranoid—As a result of Watergate revelations, various agencies reportedly plan to probe "the possibility that men of wealth and influence manipulated federal law enforcement agencies."

Crazy, man!—Assailing various pollution control measures as costly, Charles Luce, head of New York's Con Edison power company, said moves to impose such controls "raise questions about our national sanity." Obviously anyone who would propose anything that might even inadvertently put people before profits has got to be out of their skull.

Of sound belief—Those jokes aside about President Ford playing too much football without his helmet, the *Catholic Reporter* assures us he is of sound religious belief. One important influence on

him, the paper says, is Billy Zeolin, president of Gospel Films and active in evangelist work among pro football players. Zeolin said Ford made a commitment to Christ during pregame chapel services before a Washington Redskins-Dallas Cowboys game in 1971.



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



What happened to Labor Day?

There was a time when Labor Day was celebrated by working men and women who marched under union banners in every major city. Most unions used to show banners calling for "Shorter Hours," "Jobs For All." The auto workers made the slogan "30 for 40" famous. Locals would often raise demands like "\$1-an-hour NOW." For many years there were plenty of signs that said, "Build a Labor Party."

The marchers came in great numbers to demonstrate their strength and to get the feel of their own power. Thousands lined the streets to watch and cheer those Labor Day parades. It was the annual show of unionism.

All this was gradually converted into election-year rallies in support of Democratic Party office-seekers. Over the years, fewer working people came to these election rallies until finally the union officials stopped trying to organize them. They said workers had lost the spirit of solidarity, were no longer union-conscious, had become part of the middle class, and were too well off.

The pompous officials who sit atop the union movement never took kindly to the big Labor Day demonstrations. These gave the workers a chance to measure their own power and to voice their own demands.

The Democratic Party rallies were different. They were called not to make demands upon the ruling class but to ask the political agents of the rulers to please help the underpaid and the overworked.

The idea that Labor Day should belong to the working people seems, at last, to be forgotten. All that remains is a few speeches and a television interview by top AFL-CIO officials.

There was a slightly different note in the chorus this year. It came from Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Auto Workers. He was interviewed by the editors of *The Nation*. The theme of the Sept. 7 issue was "Labor in '74," and Mazey's contribution was called "Meany and Other Problems," which is a good title. But it turned out that Mazey is one of the "other problems."

He had some unkind things to say about Meany, about how Meany supports the status quo and is complacent and a warmonger and reneged on pro-

mises made at the time of the AFL-CIO merger almost 20 years ago—all true. But then Mazey talks about himself and reveals that he has a good deal in common with Meany.

Mazey says he was "active in the Socialist movement in the 1930s and 1940s and part of the 1950s."

"Philosophically, I am still a Socialist," he says. "I believe that the tools of production and the purpose of government must be used to solve problems that people can't solve by themselves, and to raise the living standards of the many and not the luxury standards of a few."

How will this be done? Mazey has a fixed notion on how it will *not* be done. Here is what he has been saying for 20 years and repeated again this year: "Although at one time I advocated the building of a labor party," says Mazey, "I have since changed my mind because I believe that a third-party movement, labor- or Socialist-oriented, would be divisive and would strengthen the control of our government by the most reactionary elements of the Republican Party."

That's a pretty good formula for retaining what is. It has helped to maintain the capitalist two-party shell game for a very long time. Meany subscribes to this formula, with one small amendment. He thinks full support of the two-party system is a good way to strengthen control of our government by the most reactionary elements of the Democratic Party, and he is right about that.

As the pressure of the economic, social, and political crisis of the capitalist system bears more heavily upon the working class, driving down the standard of living and undermining working conditions, these union officials will continue to snarl and snap at each other.

But the workers, for their own protection, will have to find a way to challenge the rule of the employing class. And that will require a labor party based on the union movement. It is a way of returning to the earlier idea of unionism, the idea that working men and women must unite and build their own independent organizations for self-protection.

They learned long ago that the employers are not in business to help the workers—and neither are the political agents of the employers.

Denver march to focus on defense of Chicano

By JACK MARSH

DENVER—Gary Garrison, an activist from the Crusade for Justice, a Chicano community organization in Denver, will go on trial Sept. 16 on frame-up charges of arson and criminal mischief.

Garrison was originally arrested in January on suspicion of planting a bomb in a paint store. He was then charged with assault to commit murder, second-degree assault, first-degree arson, and criminal mischief. He was held on \$100,000 bond.

The flimsy nature of the charges against Garrison was indicated, however, when Denver District Attorney Dale Tooley was forced to reduce the charges and lower Garrison's bail.

The capitalist press here has tried to use the charges against Garrison to portray the Chicano movement as criminally violent. In fact, it is the Chicano movement that has been the victim of numerous murderous attacks.

For example, prior to Garrison's arrest the *Rocky Mountain News* pub-

lished an article headlined "Bomb Recipient, Crusade for Justice Connection Traced," in an obvious attempt to smear both Garrison and the Chicano movement.

Sept. 16, the date set for Garrison's trial to begin, coincides with the annual Mexican Independence Day demonstration here. Organizers of the demonstration have made Garrison's defense case a focal point of the march and rally. The action will be an opportunity for all opponents of government harassment of the Chicano movement to show their solidarity with Garrison, the Crusade for Justice, and other Chicano organizations.

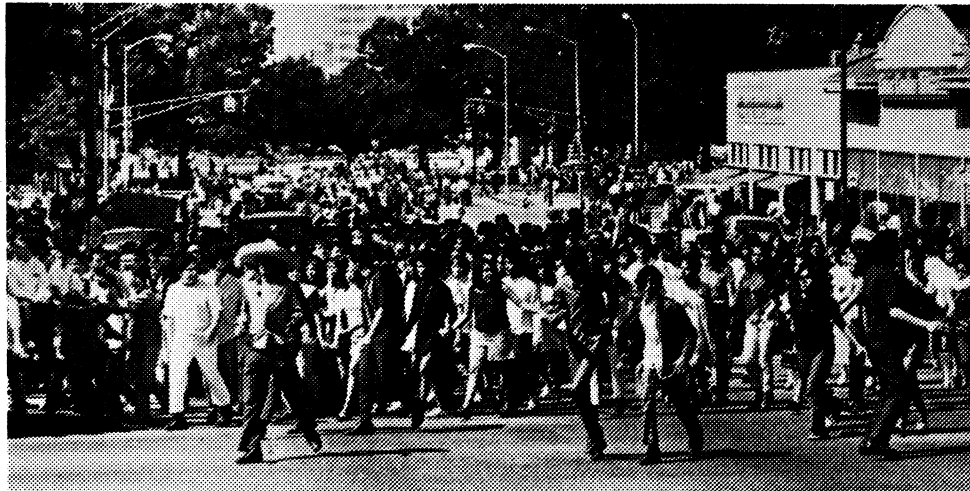
The Sept. 16 demonstration in Denver is slated to be the culmination of activities organized by Chicano activists throughout Colorado. Chicano high school students in many cities have planned walkouts from their schools for Friday, Sept. 13, and Monday, Sept. 16. This is despite threats from school authorities in the cities of La Junta and Greeley that the doors of high schools will be

chained to prevent any walkouts from taking place.

The Sept. 16 demonstration assembles at 10 a.m. at the City and County Building in Denver. From there participants will march to the state capitol, where a rally will be held at noon.

Speakers will include Ernesto Vigil,

La Raza Unida Party candidate for state house of representatives; José Calderon, cochairman of Colorado Raza Unida Party; Corky Gonzales, founder of the Crusade for Justice; Jesus Valderrama, a member of the United Farm Workers boycott staff; and Father Joseph Lara, of Our Lady of Guadalupe church.



Mexican Independence Day in Denver, 1969. This year's action will demand charges against Gary Garrison be dropped.

NY Dist. 1 students protest firing of principals

By CLAUDIO TAVAREZ

NEW YORK—On Sept. 9, the opening day of school here, Public School 188 in school District 1 was shut down by a boycott organized by parents. The purpose of the boycott at the predominantly Puerto Rican school was to protest the firing of the school's two coprincipals, Ted Fletcher and Charles Berger.

The two principals, one Black and one white, were chosen by the parents and are supporters of the right of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents to have a say in their children's education.

The two were fired even without charges being placed against them by the District 1 school board. Five of the nine-person board are supporters of the racist Shankerite bureaucracy of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT).

The firing of the two pro-community-control principals represented an intensification of the attack by the racist school board majority against the parents and students of District 1, who are overwhelmingly Puerto Rican,

Black, and Chinese. The action followed the illegal suspension on Aug. 8 of Luis Fuentes, superintendent of



Sign reads 'Down with the local board. We demand Berger and Fletcher.'

District 1.

On Sept. 8 more than 200 parents of students at P. S. 188 voted to boycott the school until their two principals are reinstated. As of this writing, after two days of the boycott, only 200 of the school's 1,400 students have shown up for classes.

After closing down the school the first day, parents and community people marched to the District 1 office to ask acting superintendent Ann Mersereau why the two principals were fired.

But as parents were entering the district office, police suddenly came out of the building, pushing people out and informing the parents they were not allowed in the office.

Miriam Gonzalez, president of the District 1 Presidents Council and co-president of the Parents Association of P. S. 188, was assaulted and beaten by police when she tried to enter the building.

The parents then formed a picket line outside, demanding that Mersereau meet with them. Mersereau said she would meet with only three parents,

but the parents refused.

Two hundred community people met again the evening of Sept. 9 to hear reports on the boycott at P. S. 188 and to discuss how best to respond to the attacks on the community by the racist board. In addition to the firing of the two principals at P. S. 188, more than 100 paraprofessionals and 125 school aides in District 1 have been "excessed"—or fired from their jobs. Most are Black and Puerto Rican.

At the Sept. 9 meeting Mary Johnson, co-president of the Parents Association at P. S. 188, said that the boycott at P. S. 188 was an example to other parents in the district of how to fight back against such attacks.

There are encouraging signs that some rank-and-file UFT members can be won to support the community struggle. At P. S. 188 more than 20 teachers have signed a petition supporting the reinstatement of principals Fletcher and Berger.

A City-Wide Coalition in Support of Parents in District 1 has been formed, and is planning a rally in support of the parents' demands.

Newark cops whitewash Puerto Rican deaths

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEWARK—"You could flip a coin on that one," was the reported flippant remark of Police Director Hubert Williams about the deaths of two Puerto Ricans during the recent disturbances in this city.

Williams said it would be "speculative" and "unfair" to blame the police for the deaths. But his only problem is that all of the evidence points directly to the police.

Fernando Rodríguez de Cordova, 23, was shotgunned to death Monday night, Sept. 2, the night Mayor Kenneth Gibson ordered the police to lay siege to the Puerto Rican community. Earlier the same day, on Gibson's orders, the police had violently dispersed a demonstration of more than a thousand people with clubs and horses. The demonstrators, mostly young Puerto Ricans, had gathered to protest the savage police attack the previous day against the annual Hispanic Festival in Branch Brook Park.

It was during the police attack on this Monday demonstration that David

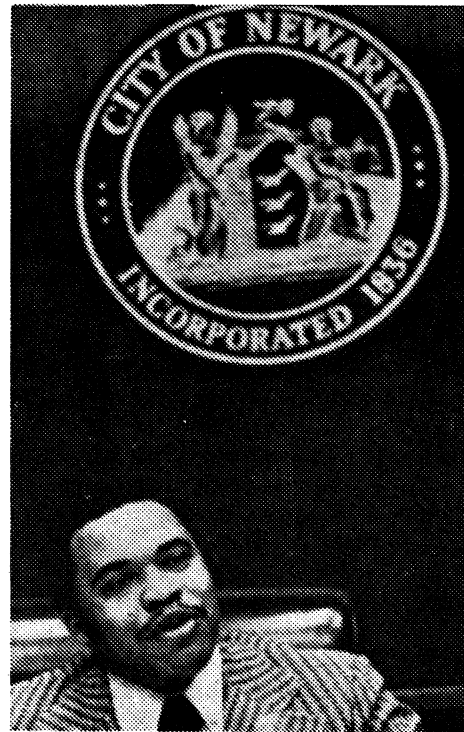
Pérez, 30, the second Puerto Rican, met his death. According to an eyewitness, Pérez had come out of a bar at the time of the police attack on the demonstrators. He was then pursued by both a mounted and a foot policeman. The mounted cop knocked him to the ground and the foot cop delivered a blow to his head with a nightstick. Pérez died three days later from hemorrhaging caused by a massive skull fracture.

There is no possible way to "flip a coin" on these events. The police murdered Pérez, and according to Melba Maldonado, a leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and a spokeswoman for the People's Committee Against Repression and Police Brutality, there are eyewitnesses who saw police pick up Rodríguez Monday night. The most prominent weapon in the hands of the police during their siege of the Puerto Rican community was the shotgun.

Police Director Williams's attempt to whitewash the crimes of the police is in step with Mayor Gibson's attempt to take the blame for the police siege

off his administration and put it on the Puerto Rican community.

The Newark PSP, which has played



Mayor Kenneth Gibson

a leading role in the People's Committee (which was formed in response to the police attack), responded by stating, "During the past two days Mayor Gibson, State Senator Anthony Imperiale, and Deputy Mayor Ramon Aneses have hysterically charged in the press that the violent events of the last few days have been organized by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. This is an old and obvious ploy to blame someone else for one's own blunders. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party did not trample children and other citizens with horses, or clubs, shoot and arrest people indiscriminately in Branch Brook Park. . . ."

"Neither is the Puerto Rican Socialist Party responsible for decrepit housing, racism, unemployment, poor medical care, rise in the cost of living. . . ."

Alfredo del Valle, PSP secretary, charged that members were under heavy surveillance by the police.

The People's Committee held a meeting of more than a hundred people Sept. 8 and decided to continue the struggle for 1) the dropping of charges

Continued on page 22

Discussion with young Mexican revolutionist

The following is the transcript of an interview given by James P. Cannon to Emiliano, a member of the political bureau of the Mexican Liga Socialista (Socialist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. The interview was for *El Socialista*, the newspaper of the Socialist League.

This transcript is based on the English translation of the questions by Miguel Pendas of The Militant's Southwest Bureau.

The interview took place Aug. 15, less than a week before Cannon's death Aug. 21 at the age of 84.

Jim Cannon's experience in the revolutionary socialist movement extended back to his membership in the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World prior to World War I. Following the Russian revolution he became a founding member of the American Communist Party. Expelled from the CP in 1928 for opposition to Stalinism, he was a founder of the Trotskyist movement in this country and of the Fourth International.

At the time of his death Cannon was national chairman emeritus of the Socialist Workers Party.

El Socialista: As you know, the Socialist League is a very young organization and none of its cadres has extensive experience in the labor and revolutionary movements. This lack of experience creates many political and organizational problems. One of the most important we have been grappling with is that of political ed-

ucation and development. We have been trying to think through what is the best way of conducting the process of systematic political education.

One of the thorny questions is whether the main emphasis should be placed on the Marxist classics, or whether we should focus more on contemporary Mexican and international problems. Do you have any suggestions on this?

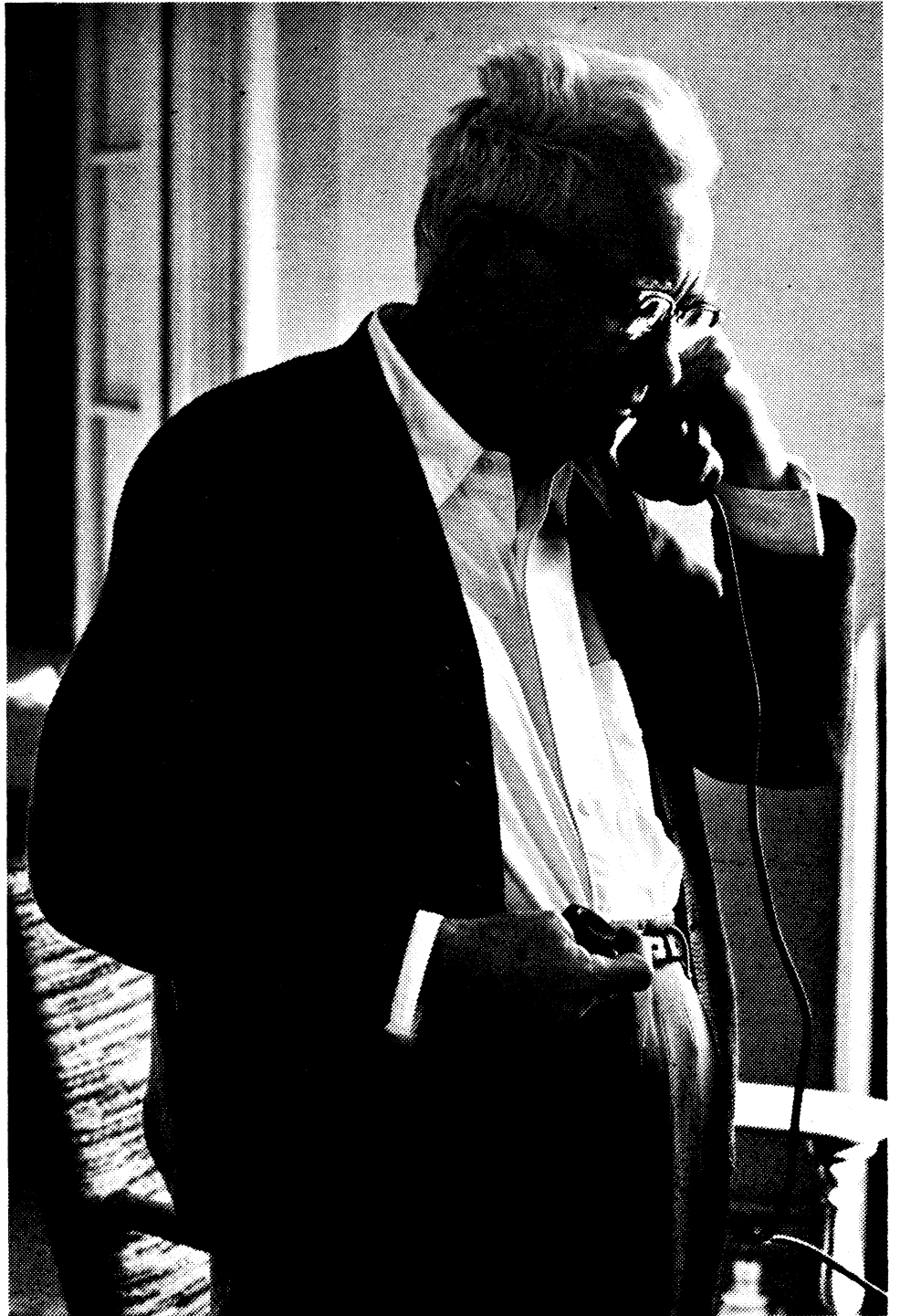
Cannon: I would say both. The Socialist Workers Party has educational programs adapted to each level of development. We have classes on the history of our party, classes on the history of the Russian revolution, classes on Marxist economics. You don't have to start with *Capital*; you can take Marx's pamphlet *Value, Price, and Profit* and make a very profitable extended course out of it.

Lenin's pamphlet *Left-wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder* would make a very good subject for a class — not for just one evening, but as an extended class.

Just start somewhere. Once you get started on Marxism, you keep going. You get addicted.

El Socialista: The problem is where to start.

Cannon: Well, Marxist economics, with *Value, Price, and Profit* is a very good start. And if you begin with Lenin's two pamphlets *Left-wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder* and *State and Revolution*, you begin to



Cannon at his home in Los Angeles

get the essence of Lenin's thoughts on wide areas.

And they're very good for beginners, especially those who are inclined toward adventurist leaps. I think there is a tendency in Mexico toward adventurism. Young people want a revolution right away.

El Socialista: You're absolutely right. There's a tremendous tendency toward adventurism in Mexico. It's one of the biggest problems we face.

We have been devoting a great deal of our relatively limited resources to establishing our monthly newspaper, *El Socialista*. In trying to establish an effective national publication, we are in a way going against the stream of the radical tradition in Mexico.

Most of the Mexican radical groups believe that it's more important to establish local papers that have more of an influence on particular struggles.

How do you view this question of the national publication and the role it can play?

Cannon: The national view takes priority. Our paper should appeal to the whole of the Mexican working class and peasantry. That's easier said than done.

Like *The Militant*. We never think of *The Militant* as a New York paper. From the very beginning, in 1928, we considered it a national and international paper. Our paper is in

Continued on next page

Liga Socialista: 'Cannon was intransigent fighter'

The following message was sent to the Socialist Workers Party by the Liga Socialista (Socialist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Mexico.

Our organization was formed thanks to the lessons we have learned from our Trotskyist comrades all over the world, but above all those in the Socialist Workers Party.

In this sense Jim Cannon was one of our teachers, not only through his books — which anyone who hopes to build a Leninist workers party in any part of the world must read and study — but above all through the party that he founded and helped to build in an outstanding way.

Perhaps the most important les-

son that we learned from him is the importance of a team leadership, the indispensable prerequisite for success in the difficult task of building the revolutionary party.

Our point of departure is that the party that will lead the proletariat in the destruction of capitalism cannot afford to depend on one lone political leader, no matter how brilliant that leader may be. It is necessary to create a *collective leadership*, which can include the proletarian leaders who are slowly produced in the class struggle; where they can work together, as equals, to draw out each other's talents and to attempt to minimize each other's inevitable limitations. Without this prerequisite, no solution to the crisis of proletarian leadership is possible.

Cannon has been one of the most

brilliant exponents of another great doctrine: the inescapable need to construct the World Party of Socialist Revolution, the Fourth International. In carrying out this key work, Cannon was always an intransigent fighter when it was a matter of defending the integrity of the program of Lenin and Trotsky. This characterized his life until the very end, and we are determined to take the same position.

Nevertheless, Jim Cannon's death does make us mournful. The team that he created is quite capable of continuing the work of building the Leninist party in the United States, as well as assisting in the development and strengthening of the Fourth International.

To participate in some of the major battles of the workers movement in the United States and to

help create its first organizations; to collaborate with Trotsky in the struggle of the International Left Opposition; to be, along with other leaders of the SWP in those days, Trotsky's intimate co-worker in the elaboration of the Transitional Program; to be a founder of the Fourth International and of the Socialist Workers Party, and to create the leadership team that heads this party today: Is it possible to have a more satisfying and productive life?

Worker militants like Jim Cannon will always remain in our class consciousness and in the class consciousness of the ever-growing number of members of the Fourth International.

Fraternal greetings,
The Secretariat of the Liga Socialista

...Your paper should appeal to whole M

Continued from preceding page

fact the chief educator of the movement. It's not limited to little local developments. You will never educate a national movement that way.

After you have built a big movement with a national organ, then you can have local editions, dealing with local issues.

That's my opinion. Your paper should definitely be a national paper, dealing with the affairs of government, what the government's doing, what's going on in other parts of the country, and what's going on in the world. For example, the story of the uprisings in Portugal and Greece would be good stories for Mexico, wouldn't they?

I don't think that's a progressive tendency—the idea of a movement that hasn't established a national base for itself beginning with local issues. That's putting the cart before the horse, isn't it? If you have a cadre educated in national and international affairs, then it's very easy for them to orient to local actions.

El Socialista: The rationalization used by these people is that they'll have more influence locally if they bring out a local paper.

Cannon: But the purpose is to educate the people, and if you concentrate on local affairs, that doesn't broaden the knowledge and interests of the people. It doesn't help them see that the local affairs are only a part of what's going on in the whole world, which affects every local area.

For example, local labor strikes and uprisings are most likely prompted by national inflation right now, aren't they? So if you begin by explaining that the local workers are the victims of the national crimes of the bourgeoisie, the bankers and money sharks, it doesn't diminish your local activity, but broadens the interests of those in struggle and deepens the struggle.

El Socialista: Is it in this sense that Lenin wrote of the newspaper as being the organizer of the revolutionary party?

EL SOCIALISTA

Destinado a Defender los Intereses de la Clase Trabajadora

Mexico, D.F.

Julio de 1974

Año I, No. 10

Puebla y CCHs Contestan la Agresión a Instituciones de Educación Superior



20 mil Manifiestan en Puebla que el Presupuesto Universitario no alcanza (ver pag. 2)

Charros Patrones Rompen Huelga en General Electric (p8)
Detras del Descontento en la UAP — (ver página 2)
CCHs: Mítin de 4000 Contesta a Soberón — (ver página 3)
El PCM: ¿Un Nuevo Programa? — (ver página 6)

Front page of July issue of El Socialista

Cannon: Yes, that's what it should be. It must teach about more than local incidents; it must teach the whole program of Marxism. Not all in one issue, but in installments and parts. Inflation—that's someplace to begin, right now.

The language problem

You seem to understand more English than I know of Spanish.

El Socialista: I can read English but I can't understand much when people speak English.

Cannon: That's a weakness of our party as well as yours, languages. More people in our movement should know more than one language.

This was one thing that impressed me so strongly about the leaders of the Russian revolution when I was

there in the early years. They had been exiles all over Europe and they all spoke many languages. Lenin, Trotsky, Radek, Bukharin, Zinoviev—they spoke French, German, Russian, and some even spoke English a little. Trotsky spoke a little English.

El Socialista: This is even a factor internally in Mexico, because it accounts for unequal development in the leadership. The ones who understand English are able to develop more because they have more access to literature and conversation with comrades in other languages.

A key problem for all the sections of the Fourth International, and a particularly urgent one for us, is the development of a qualified, authoritative central leadership team. In Mexico, unfortunately, there has not been a strong tradition in this area. So in trying to develop such a leadership team we are in a sense breaking new ground.

I know you have dealt with this question extensively in your writings and attach great importance to it. Are there any comments you could make about this problem that might serve as a guide for us in our efforts?

Cannon: It's easier said than done. But reading literature on the question is the best way, and then discussing it. You should make every effort to have some of the basic works of the Trotskyist movement translated and made the subject of study classes. Even before that, if you have comrades who have read the material in another language, they could give classes in it and make a beginning that way.

What proportion of our members are students?

El Socialista: The overwhelming majority. Probably 90 percent are high school or college students.

Cannon: Do they study languages in college?

El Socialista: They study, but usually they don't really learn them.

Cannon: Revolutionists should take

'The SWP is Jim Cannon's finest monument'

The following comments on the life of Jim Cannon are by Sam Gordon, one of Cannon's longtime comrades and co-workers. Gordon, who now lives in England, was formerly a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

London

Jim Cannon is no more. The sentence keeps echoing in my ears. It is hard to believe, particularly at this distance and in view of the many years I hadn't seen him and of my plans to see him shortly.

But in a sense a part of Jim will always continue to be with me. For Jim was not only a comrade, a leader, a mentor to me. He was more than even a close personal friend. He was a second father, a much-loved second father.

Jim often liked to refer to the "dog days" of the Trotskyist movement [from 1928 through the early 1930s]. It was in those days that I got to know Jim. Very soon, and for several years thereafter, I became a member of the household with Jim, Rose

[Karsner], and often their children.

In spite of material problems it was a happy household. Jim taught us to laugh even in adversity.

I remember particularly one time we were evicted from an apartment on Second Avenue [in New York City] to take up an abode in a cold-water flat on First Avenue. Jim hired a horse and rig. His pipe in his mouth, he took to the driver's seat like a professional and, whip in hand, traded wisecracks with the Second Avenue kibitzers on the sidewalk.

I first saw Jim in action at an early Trotskyist meeting at the Labor Temple on Fourteenth Street. Martin Abern was in the chair and Max Shachtman had just finished giving a biting verbal drubbing to some Stalinists in the hall who had made a rush for the platform a little while before.

Jim got up and gave the audience a quiet lecture on internationalism. Not a peep of interruption now. For me, the point was driven home particularly by the Kansas-Missouri twang of the speaker's voice.

Jim was a revolutionary internationalist all his adult life. He was a living link between the leaders of the October Revolution and the revolutionary-internationalist world leadership of our present generation. Jim passed on the torch of working-class internationalism to several generations of American revolutionists.

Jim Cannon was also a living bridge that spanned the generations between American revolutionists going back to Debs and DeLeon, Bill Haywood, and Vincent St. John, and the American revolutionary socialist generation of today, which encompasses Black nationalism, the Chicano struggle, the fight for women's liberation, and the demand for amnesty to the anti-Vietnam-war "deserters."

Jim Cannon made contributions to Trotskyist thought, particularly in its application to the American revolution. But above all, Jim's great contributions were in hammering out the theory and practice of the combat organization of the working class, of the revolutionary party. On this problem, Jim used to say he preferred to

be called a Leninist rather than anything else.

Trotsky said of Cannon's essay *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* that if the great internal struggle of 1940 [against the petty-bourgeois opposition in the Socialist Workers Party] produced nothing more than that work, it would have been worthwhile. And Trotsky was not given to flattery.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Nowhere else in the world is the product of that theory and practice of the proletarian combat party so durable, so flourishing, so flexible in taking advantage of revolutionary opportunities, as is the Socialist Workers Party.

A party cannot itself make a revolution. But such a party, such a combat organization, can lead a revolution when society undergoes an upheaval. The SWP is the nucleus of such a party. And it is the SWP that will be Jim's finest monument. In it Jim Cannon will continue the great fight for socialism to which he dedicated his life.

Sam Gordon

mexican working class and peasantry'

advantage of the opportunity while they're in school. Concentrate at least on one language and learn it. It would be a tremendous advantage.

El Socialista: What role does political authority—that is, in the sense of moral authority—of the comrades play in developing a leadership team? In your writings you stress the necessity for the leadership of the party to have not only capacity, but also to have a certain moral authority. Why is this moral authority necessary?

Cannon: Authority can't be conferred; it has to be acquired. When one works a certain length of time for the party and does good work, he acquires a certain influence, which we call moral authority. It can't be organized like a game of checkers. You're dealing with people who are all different.

The main thing in my opinion is to create an atmosphere in the party where everybody is valued and everybody has a full opportunity to show what they can do for the party. And in

the course of that development, certain people stand out and become leaders.

Collective leadership

And it's very fortunate if it isn't just one person who becomes a one-man leader but a group of people who combine their talents as well as their faults and make a collective leadership. That's what we need everywhere.

El Socialista: Your writings have emphasized the importance of developing an international program and being part of a world party. We are trying to fully absorb that tradition.

We think it is of particular importance for us to establish close working relations with the comrades of the Fourth International in Latin America and also with the North American Trotskyist movement. We feel the role of the U.S. imperialists in Mexico dictates the need for such political collaboration.

Also, we feel we have already learned a great deal from the traditions and teachings of the North

American movement and can learn even more. How do you see this question of collaboration between the two movements?

Cannon: First accept the general idea as you said. Well stated, in my opinion. Then we should try to find practical means of operating. I think it is very important that we have close collaboration all over the continent. One way is through direct visits.

Another way is for a wider circle

of comrades to pick up the other language and read the literature and periodicals of the other countries. That would be an excellent way of keeping informed. Then those comrades can convey what they learn to the rest of the party in their own country.

Fraternal relationship

Traveling to national gatherings of parties in other countries is another good way to establish contacts. Grad-

Continued on next page

NEW YORK

TRIBUTE TO JAMES P. CANNON

Speakers: TOM KERRY, Socialist Workers Party; ROGER BALDWIN, founder of American Civil Liberties Union, who worked with Cannon in many civil liberties and labor defense cases in the 1920s; CARL CANNON, James P. Cannon's son; HARRY BRAVERMAN, president of Monthly Review Press; MATTHEW ROSS, Cannon's grandson; and others.

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JAMES P. CANNON FUND MOVES FORWARD

The James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund now stands at \$52,821.95. This fund was launched at the Aug. 23 Political Tribute to Jim Cannon held in Oberlin, Ohio. The 1,250 people who attended felt that the best way to honor this great American revolutionist was to launch a campaign to push forward the work of building the movement to which Cannon devoted his entire adult life.

Since the Oberlin meeting, the fund has been boosted by contributions totaling \$900 and \$500 from meet-

ings in tribute to Cannon held in Los Angeles and Minneapolis. In addition, contributions have begun to arrive in response to the appeals in *The Militant*.

A top priority of this fund will be to help publish the many unpublished or out-of-print speeches and writings of Jim Cannon. In this way, the wealth of his political experience and vision of the socialist future can be passed on to the new generation of radical youth and worker militants.

Please send your individual contribution today. Donors of \$50 or more may choose a complimentary copy of any one of Cannon's books listed below.

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Fund directors: Reba Hansen and George Novack
Treasurer: Andrea Morell



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Section of audience at Sept. 3 Los Angeles Tribute to Jim Cannon. Jessica Star, who worked with Cannon on one of his books, is speaking.

...‘We need international collaboration’

Continued from preceding page

usually you establish a fraternal relationship in which each side will learn from the other.

It's not merely the lectures and the resolutions and the discussions; it's also the fraternity of meeting people of one's own kind—revolutionists—of different nationalities. It's a wonderful experience, a wonderful influence.

You know, the Greek Olympiad was not merely an athletic performance as it's portrayed today. It was a gathering of Greeks from all over the lands where the Greeks had established themselves, coming together to fraternize. I think the athletic performances were merely part of the show. The real thing was fraternization, personal contact.

El Socialista: We have had some contact with other Latin American comrades, and we want to develop the same kind of contact with the Socialist Workers Party, particularly in trying to incorporate some of the traditions of Trotskyism that are embodied in the Socialist Workers Party.

Cannon: I think that should be welcomed and facilitated in every possible way.

El Socialista: One of our difficulties is financial. We are a relatively small

movement and most of our members and supporters have little money. This makes it hard to establish a professional staff.

We don't have the money to subsidize the full-time workers that we need. For example, right now we need a full-time editor for our paper, a full-time political secretary, and a full-time organizational secretary. We can only raise enough money to have one of these on full-time.

I know that in the early years the North American movement also had hard financial problems. On the basis of your experiences with this problem, do you have any advice?

Cannon: Our experience was that we just suffered. We had to have full-time workers but we didn't have the money, so one way or another we got a few full-time workers without the money. If you ask me how we did it, I can't tell you now. It's easier said than done.

It requires extraordinary effort and sometimes one or two of the comrades on staff have to go to work to pay for the rent and the groceries. Another time some comrade has to quit his job because a vacancy in the party has to be filled. There's no rule or law there. It's a question of will, determination, necessity, inspiration, and spirit and several other things.



El Socialista: I wish I could ask you a lot more questions. We're very curious to know about the discussions that you had with Trotsky and other leaders of the Comintern in the early days of the movement. There are a

million other questions I wish I could ask you.

Cannon: Come again.

El Socialista: We intend to.

BOOKS BY JAMES P. CANNON

THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM

by James P. Cannon with a preface by Theodore Draper. Cannon was the only surviving leader of the formative days of the American communist movement who did not repudiate communism. He was a founder of the U.S. Communist Party and a leader of it until his expulsion in 1928 for opposition to Stalinism.

In this collection of letters to historian Theodore Draper, Cannon gives his account of the attempts of pioneer American communists to apply the lessons of the Russian revolution to the American scene. Especially important is his description of the growing influence of Stalin's bureaucracy in the international communist movement and the impact this had in the American CP. 343 pp., \$10, paper \$3.45.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM

by James P. Cannon with an in-

troduction by Caroline Lund. This is a report of a participant in the founding of the American Trotskyist movement. 268 pp., paper \$2.95.

THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY

by James P. Cannon. In these essays and letters, Cannon outlines the Leninist concepts that guide the organization of a revolutionary workers' party. It deals with the political struggle with the Shachtman minority in the Socialist Workers Party in 1939-40. Leon Trotsky wrote of the first section of this book: "It is the writing of a genuine workers' leader. If the discussion had not produced more than this document, it would be justified." 320 pp., paper \$2.95.

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL

by James P. Cannon. As a clear and simple explanation of the principles and aims of revolutionary socialism, this book has be-

come a classic of American socialist literature. It is based on the court stenogram of Cannon's explanations of the views of the SWP when he was on trial for "sedition" in 1941 under the Smith Act. 192 pp., paper \$2.25.

NOTEBOOK OF AN AGITATOR

by James P. Cannon with a introduction by Joseph Hansen. Socialist journalism at its finest. This selection of Cannon's writings, taken from the labor and radical press, spans the years 1926-1956. It includes editorials from the campaign to save Sacco and Vanzetti; reports of the 1930s strike upsurge, the Korean war, the ideology of Stalinism; also sketches of Cannon's contemporaries in the revolutionary movement. 369 pp., \$8.95, paper \$3.45.

LETTERS FROM PRISON

by James P. Cannon with an introduction by Jack Barnes. Cannon was one of the victims of

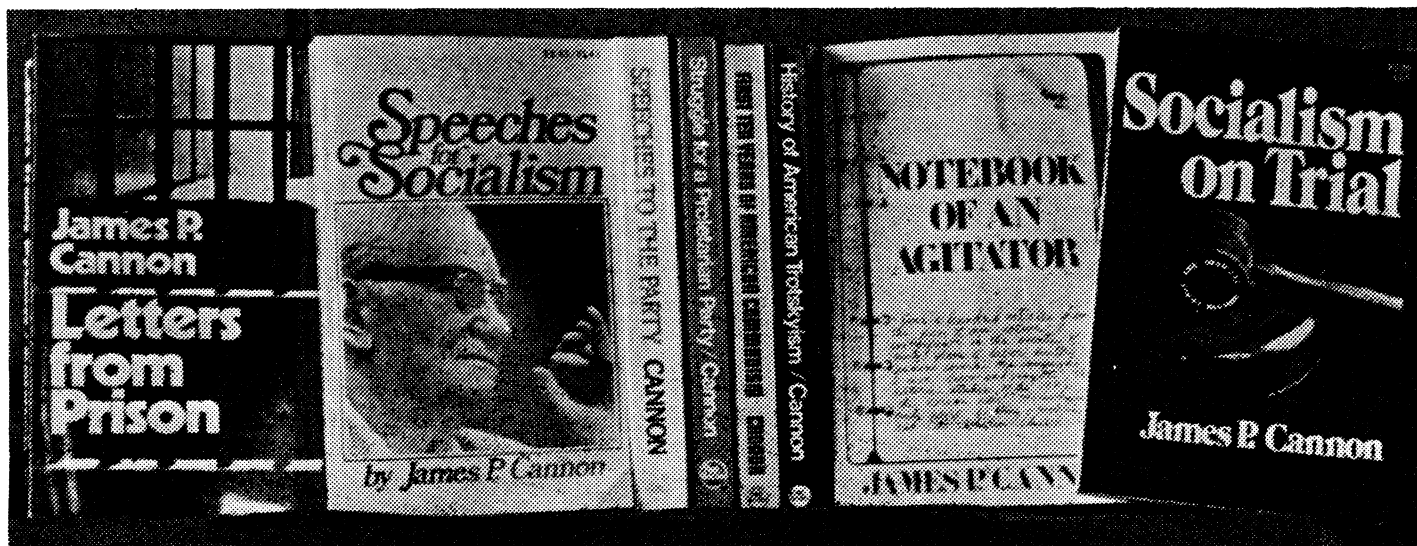
the government's first use of the Smith Act. In this, his prison journal kept during his confinement in Sandstone federal prison, Cannon addresses himself to the practical problems of building the revolutionary party: the importance of the revolutionary press, building a leadership team, the need to build a revolutionary international, and much more. 355 pp., \$7.50, paper \$3.45.

SPEECHES FOR SOCIALISM

by James P. Cannon with an introduction by Peggy Brundy and Dianne Feeley. These are speeches of a top-notch revolutionary orator, covering such topics as socialism and democracy, the struggle against imperialist war, Stalinism, and the role of youth in the revolutionary movement. 432 pp., \$10, paper \$3.45.

SPEECHES TO THE PARTY: The Revolutionary Perspective and the Revolutionary Party

by James P. Cannon with an introduction by Al Hansen. This is a collection of speeches and documents from an internal struggle in the SWP during the era of prosperity, witch-hunt, and cold war in the early 1950s. Cannon's central theme is that American capitalism, despite appearances to the contrary, is headed for new crises that will produce a new radicalization, and that a Leninist party is necessary to lead the coming mass struggles to power. 352 pp., \$10, paper \$3.95.



Order from: Pathfinder Press
410 West St., New York, N. Y.
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Rally opens week of Chile protest actions

By IKE NAHEM

NEW YORK—A spirited crowd of more than 800 people gathered at Columbia University Sept. 6 for a concert/rally marking the first anniversary of the military coup in Chile and protesting the continuing repression of political prisoners there.

The concert/rally opened a week of activities in solidarity with the people of Chile, scheduled to culminate with a picket line at the ITT building Sept. 11, the date of the coup. The week was sponsored by the September Chile Action Coalition, which involves more than 30 groups, including the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA); Chile Solidarity Committee; Emergency Committee to Save Chilean Health Workers; Chileans for Democracy; New American Movement; Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Coalición de Latinoamericanos y Amigos de Latinoamérica (CLAN); Socialist Workers Party; Communist Party; Young Socialist Alliance; Young Workers Liberation League; and New York State Americans for Democratic Action.

The meeting hall was brightly decorated with banners spelling out the

part of a delegation of WILPF women who went to Chile after the coup.

She described cases of "children tortured to find out where their parents were, including a little girl with gaping wounds in her side."

"The junta," Mauss reported, "carries out a systematic policy of torture among women political prisoners in an attempt to demoralize them." She told how women were subjected to mass rape, were kept nude in damp prison cells, and had electric shock applied to their genitals.

Other speakers were Lennox Hines of the National Black Lawyers Guild; Reverend David Garcia of St. Marks Church; Edward Boorstein, who was an economic advisor to Allende; and Herbert X Blyden, an Attica defendant.

High points of the evening were the spirited songs of El Grupo, a group of Latin American musicians, and Daniel Viglietti, an internationally known folksinger from Uruguay, who is currently in exile.

One of the scheduled speakers, Armando Arancibia, who was undersecretary of economics during the Allende



800 attended concert/rally to protest repression in Chile and U.S. aid to junta.

three demands of the coalition: "Free All Political Prisoners in Chile!"; "End the Ban on Unions and Political Parties!"; "No U.S. Aid to the Junta!"

Outside the hall, many of the sponsoring organizations set up literature tables, signing up people for future activities and engaging in lively discussion on the lessons of the Chile coup and how to build the most effective Chile defense campaign.

Several trade unions sent delegations to the rally, including the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees District 1199, Fur and Leather Workers, Machinists, and United Auto Workers. There were also international representatives from several United Nations delegations.

The rally was chaired by Abe Feinglass, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union, who was in Chile after the coup. Feinglass spoke of the "shame I felt as a U.S. citizen, the so-called land of the free, when the embassy of my country was closed to those attempting to escape from the junta."

Doctor Evelyn Mauss of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) spoke on her firsthand observation of conditions in the junta's jails. Mauss was

regime, was unable to attend the rally because of the delay of his visa by the U.S. embassy in Mexico and the U.S. State Department. Arancibia, who had been assured there would be no problem with his visa, was told by the embassy at the last minute not to "bother them any more."

Allen Howard, a spokesperson for the September Chile Action Coalition, condemned this arbitrary action and affirmed "the right of American citizens to hear whoever they want to hear, whenever they want to hear them." Howard called for a campaign to demand the immediate entry of Arancibia into the country.

Letters protesting the exclusion of Arancibia may be sent to Security and Counselor Section, Attention: Mr. Kiely, State Department, Washington, D.C.

The best way to protest the exclusion of Arancibia and the repression in Chile, Howard said, was to turn out the largest possible numbers for the Sept. 11 picket at ITT.

The rally ended with a film clip of songs by Victor Jara, a popular Chilean folksinger who was brutally murdered by the junta at the National Stadium in the days following the coup.

Cops harassed slain Chicano, tape shows

By MARK SCHNEIDER

SAN DIEGO—"Open up. This is the police department."

One of them stuck his head through the window and said, "We know you're in there, motherfucker. We're going to get you one way or another. Even if we have to kill you, we're going to get you. We're going to get all you guys out of this house. Because you're the only Chicanos that live in this neighborhood right here. We're going to get you."

This threat was made to Bernardo Gallardo, a Chicano parolee, by the San Diego police Aug. 8.

Eleven days later Gallardo was shotgunned to death on the steps of his home.

The quotation is from Gallardo's tape-recorded account of the incident. After his murder the tape was seized from the San Diego Community Relations Board by the police and suppressed.

Herman Baca, speaking for the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights, read a transcript of the tape to the Militant Forum here Sept. 6. The transcript was mailed anonymously to the office of Casa Justicia, a Chicano rights organization.

The transcript also includes detailed accounts of police harassment of Gallardo. On Aug. 5 the police attempted to plant marijuana on him in order to force him to become a narcotics informer. On Aug. 6 his home was ransacked. According to the transcript, when he reported the robbery the police arrived and announced, "We

are the burglars. We are the ones who took everything out of your house." Then they arrested him.

On Sept. 5 two Chicano friends of Gallardo were arraigned for the murder. The San Diego County grand jury has begun an investigation into the case.

The Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights and a broad spectrum of community groups have opposed the grand jury investigation as a racist cover-up, pointing out that only five Chicanos have been grand jurors in the last 103 years.

Baca also reported at the forum on police infiltration of the Chicano movement. In July 1973 Police Chief Raymond Hoobler was forced to admit that Officer Herman Iglesias infiltrated the Mexican American Political Association. Hoobler justified this policy by saying, "When people won't talk to us, then we must find other means to gather information to provide tranquillity to our community."

Baca also reviewed incidents of the police using immigration laws to harass Chicanos and Mexicans. Under federal law only the Immigration and Naturalization Service can enforce immigration laws.

During the discussion Manuel "Tank" Barrera, Socialist Workers Party candidate for East Los Angeles city council, brought greetings from Olga Rodriguez, SWP candidate for governor of California, and expressed the socialist campaign's solidarity with the struggle in San Diego.

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Economists meeting in Washington agree: 'Put working people through the wringer'

By DICK ROBERTS

Leading American economists met in Washington Sept. 5 in the first of a series of meetings to prepare for the forthcoming White House "summit conference" on inflation.

The economists came from the government, private industry and banks, and universities.

The meeting was supposed to be "without precedent." It was bipartisan — President Ford even selected a Democrat to give the summary speech. The economists present were supposed to have "widely differing philosophies."

But this is all part of the post-Watergate show.

There were practically no differences expressed by those who spoke, either in their analysis of the economy or in their suggestions about what to do about it.

They certainly had no differences in philosophy. With people like Harvard's John Kenneth Galbraith and MIT's Paul Samuelson dotting the crowd, it is hard to think of a prominent apologist for American capitalism who did not attend the meeting.

To the point was *New York Times* reporter Philip Shabecoff's observation that "the spirit today in the East Room of the White House was more like that of a college fraternity reunion than that of an arena of those who differ on economic theory."

If Shabecoff had added that American flags waved in all the speeches — if not in all the lapels — the description would be complete.

But the meeting was not without significance.

Recession will deepen

Although some of the speakers still pretended that the United States is not in a recession now, they all agreed that the economic situation will worsen and that unemployment will grow. Estimates for unemployment in 1975 ran as high as 7.5 percent.

Even if the official unemployment rate doesn't go above 6 percent, many more people will actually be unem-



Capitalist economists meet with President Ford. Liberal Democrat John Kenneth Galbraith (foreground) urged immediate mandatory wage controls.

ployed, IBM's chief economist David Grove pointed out. "With a sluggish economy," said Grove, "many people who would normally look for work will not look for work. Therefore, they will not appear in the labor force, and won't appear among the unemployed."

Nevertheless, without exception, these men favor a recession. There were no disagreements with Harvard Professor Otto Eckstein, who appealed to President Ford to "take the middle-of-the-roadish kind of policy and let us go through another mild recession which is sort of inevitable. And a year or two later the economy would be back to some kind of normal."

Throwing people out of work and slashing wages are the only ways the experts know of "combating inflation."

They also know perfectly well that wage increases are not the cause of inflation. It is mainly caused by government deficit spending. Beryl Sprinkel, a senior vice-president of the Harris Trust and Savings Bank, said, "The cause of this inflation, in my

opinion, was classic in its dimensions. Large increases in the money supply, averaging nearly 7 percent a year for four and a half years, and large federal spending increases [resulted] in a cumulative five-year deficit of over \$75-billion."

Wage controls

But they also know that working people will fight to keep their wages up with spiraling prices — the term "catch-up wage increase" was used by more than one speaker — and this they fear.

After predicting that prices will still be increasing at an annual rate of more than 9 percent in 1975, Grove said, "The real danger, I think, is that we get a wage explosion that feeds on itself and then the inflation figures would turn out much worse than those that I have indicated."

So all the speakers supported some kind of wage controls, although here they did differ in degree. The liberal Galbraith was one of the more outspoken advocates of reimposing mandatory wage controls now.

The likelihood that Ford's summit will come out with some kind of wage controls explains the emphasis on the bipartisan character of the economics meeting. Ford explained in his opening address to the economists, "Recent summit conferences have been held between leaders of international adversaries with the hope of reducing their differences. Around this table there are no adversaries."

The rulers of this country do not want economic policy to become a matter of real debate. The economic policies of the White House require enabling legislation in Congress. The capitalist politicians want to give the impression that there is no room for disagreement on basic questions of policy. Democrats and Republicans are in unison on what needs to be done: put American workers through the double wringer of inflation and recession.

America first

Interesting was the constant repetition of the theme that there is no real danger of this recession turning into a depression. Perhaps they protest too much.

When it came to considering the actual chain of events that could lead to a world depression — namely, a deep recession in the U.S. spreading abroad — there was virtual silence. In fact there was more than a little America-firstism in some of the talks.

Walter Hoadley, executive vice-pres-

ident of the Bank of America, said that "it is extremely important that we try to recognize that we as a nation must see that we cannot feed or police or finance or heal the rest of the world."

Few would disagree on the police question.

But it is another matter when there are hundreds of millions of people starving in the world and the U.S. pursues agricultural policies aimed at curtailing production and driving food prices up.

Fertilizer is also desperately needed in Asia and Africa. Its price is kept up to reap superprofits.

The word "finance" in this quotation may be even more telling. For at a time when weaker capitalist nations are suffering severe economic problems, as Italy is today, there is a need in capitalist finance for major foreign loans.

The failure of the United States to finance European countries in difficulty in 1930-31 was one of the main reasons why the recession of that time in the United States spread abroad and turned into the world economic catastrophe of the mid-1930s.

Can the United States today overcome the nationalism that in the 1930s led to the Great Depression? That is what the apologists tell us is possible in their textbooks. But they were assembled in Washington last week with an excellent opportunity to put their preachments into practice.

They gave not the slightest hint that they would do so.

The hoax of 'jawboning'

President Ford made headlines last month in his so-called jawboning with General Motors to persuade GM to roll back higher car prices it had announced.

Sure enough, after meeting with Ford, who was "very disappointed" with the initially proposed price hikes, GM declared that it was cutting its planned average price increase from 9.5 percent to 8.5 percent. Cars would "only" be \$426 more expensive, not the \$480 originally announced.

It is a shell game. *Newsweek* magazine released the inside story in its Sept. 9 issue:

"*Newsweek's* James C. Jones reported last week from Detroit, corporations that want to raise prices significantly are often savvy enough to anticipate the jawbone — and to map their pricing strategy accordingly. Jones discovered that the result of Ford's initial jawboning effort at General Motors Corp. was not quite what it seemed. In fact, GM — anticipating Administration unhappiness over its announced price hike of nearly 10 percent on 1975 models — had built a neat cushion into its increase; after the President's criticism, GM simply rolled back its scheduled boosts to precisely the level the company deemed appropriate in the first place."

And so the big corporations and their government routinely deceive the public. A capitalist government cannot and will not control prices. It pretends to control prices as a cover for wage controls — and that is something they know how to do with a vengeance.

Longer unemployment lines

The day after the capitalist economists met and endorsed continued recessionary policies by the government — that is, policies deliberately aimed at curtailing production and throwing people out of work — the Labor Department released its August figures on unemployment.

The statistics confirmed that the recession is deepening, with an actual decline in the number of jobs in the country, and an increase in the official unemployment rate from 5.3 percent to 5.4 percent.

The jobless rate was given as 3.8 percent for adult men, 5.2 percent for adult women, and 15.3 percent for teenagers.

For whites the unemployment rate was 4.8 percent; for the Labor Department's category of "non-whites" it was 9.2 percent.

The Labor Department report admitted that the real number of unemployed is even greater "because many people who are not looking for work would do so if jobs were easier to find."



World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

SEPT. 20, 1974

White settlers attempt coup

Pact sets 'transitional government' for Mozambique

By Tony Thomas

On Sept. 6 in Lusaka, Zambia, Frelimo (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) and the Portuguese government signed an accord on independence for Mozambique. The East African country has been a colony of Portugal for hundreds of years.

The accord called for complete independence by June 25, 1975. On Sept. 15, a new "transitional government" is to take over. The *New York Times* reports that the "transitional" regime is to have the following components: 1) a Portuguese high commissioner appointed by Lisbon; 2) a Mozambique premier named by Frelimo; 3) nine cabinet ministers, three named by Portugal and six by Frelimo; 4) defense and foreign policy to be controlled from Lisbon.

Under the terms of the agreement, the existing police would maintain their positions, at least until they are integrated into a new force. Defense is supposed to be a joint responsibility of Portugal and Frelimo.

The *Times* reported that Portuguese Foreign Minister Mário Soares "indicated that Portuguese troops would remain in Mozambique, at least during the transitional period. He said Portugal would resist any external intervention during that period."

"He also made it clear," the *Times* continued, "that his Government would not allow Mozambique to be used for guerrilla attacks on Rhodesia during that phase."

The talks between Frelimo and the Portuguese had officially begun Aug. 16. Three days later the talks broke off after Frelimo rejected Portuguese terms that proposed placing leadership of the "transitional" regime in Portuguese hands.

However, the deterioration of stability in Mozambique forced the colonialists to come to terms with Frelimo.

The Aug. 23 issue of *Le Monde*, a Paris daily, pointed out that "not only are the men of Frelimo not relenting their military pressure, but they are putting the Portuguese troops on the defensive." *Le Monde* reported that the big cities of Mozambique, including Beira, the country's chief port, were encircled by Frelimo troops.

Tony Hodges, writing from Lisbon in the Sept. 16 *Intercontinental Press*, gives this description of the sharpening class struggle in Mozambique in the middle of August:

"More than seventy ships have been paralyzed by a strike of thousands of dockers in Lourenço Marques. Guerrillas continue with daily regularity to blow up goods trains and passenger trains. Railway workers, public workers, gravediggers, garbage collectors, iron workers, and newspaper staffs have participated in the rash of strikes, particularly in Lourenço Marques. In Antonio Enes, on August 11 thousands of Africans, driven to

despair by starvation wages, inflation, and scarcities of essential goods, rose in revolt, invading white and Asian farms and businesses."

In this atmosphere, on Aug. 21 a group of Mozambican capitalists sent a telegram to the Portuguese president, General António de Spínola, demanding that a settlement be made to avoid further upheavals. They realized that antiwar sentiment in metropolitan Portugal and among Portuguese troops in Africa precluded resumption of large-scale fighting against Frelimo.

Hodges also wrote, "The Portuguese ruling class seems to see its interests best defended by trying to continue to come to some arrangement with Frelimo. Jorge Jardim, a millionaire Mozambican capitalist, put it this way in an interview with the Lourenço Marques daily *A Tribuna* on August 17: 'All the facts at our disposal lead me to have confidence—though not certainty—that a Nationalist government, which would be a government with a Frelimo majority, would not be an extreme left government, in the sense of a Marxist-Maoist government.'"

Even South African Prime Minister John Vorster was quoted by *Le Monde* as saying, "It is more valuable to have a stable Black state on our frontiers, than a troubled white one."

These statements, along with Frelimo's agreement to participate in a joint government with the Portugal colonialists, show that the basis of the Sept. 6 agreement is that Frelimo will cooperate with continued imperialist economic domination of Mozambique in exchange for a promise of eventual independence and a role in

the administration of Mozambique.

Particularly ominous is Soares's statement that under the "transitional regime" no aid will be allowed to Zimbabwean fighters against the Rhodesian white-settler regime. Aid given to these fighters by Frelimo, as well as permission to pass through Frelimo-controlled areas in Mozambique, has been seen as one of the reasons for recent advances in the struggle against the Rhodesian regime. If Soares's statements reflect an agreement reached with Frelimo, then this would represent a setback for the Zimbabwean struggle.

However, the "transitional" regime in Mozambique seems threatened by the revolt of white settlers in Lourenço Marques and other parts of Mozambique.

On Sept. 7, a group of former Portuguese army commandos, the "Dragons of Death," seized control of Mozambique's main radio station at Lourenço Marques. This was followed by an assault on a prison in which 200 members of the disbanded secret police who had been arrested after the April coup in Portugal were freed.

On Sept. 8, the rebels were reported to be in control of Lourenço Marques's radio station, post office, airport control tower, and other positions in the city.

The Lourenço Marques coup is led by the Movement for a Free Mozambique (MFM), a coalition of moderate Black groups and white settler groups opposed to Frelimo. (Mozambique has a population of 8.7 million, which includes 200,000 white settlers.)

Previously, elements such as the Dragons of Death had opposed independence. Now the MFM claims to

favor independence and Black majority rule. However, they claim that Frelimo is not representative—despite the massive demonstration of support for Frelimo by Mozambican Blacks and some whites—and that total control of the "transitional" regime and the independence government should not be given to Frelimo. They have demanded that Frelimo negotiate with them.

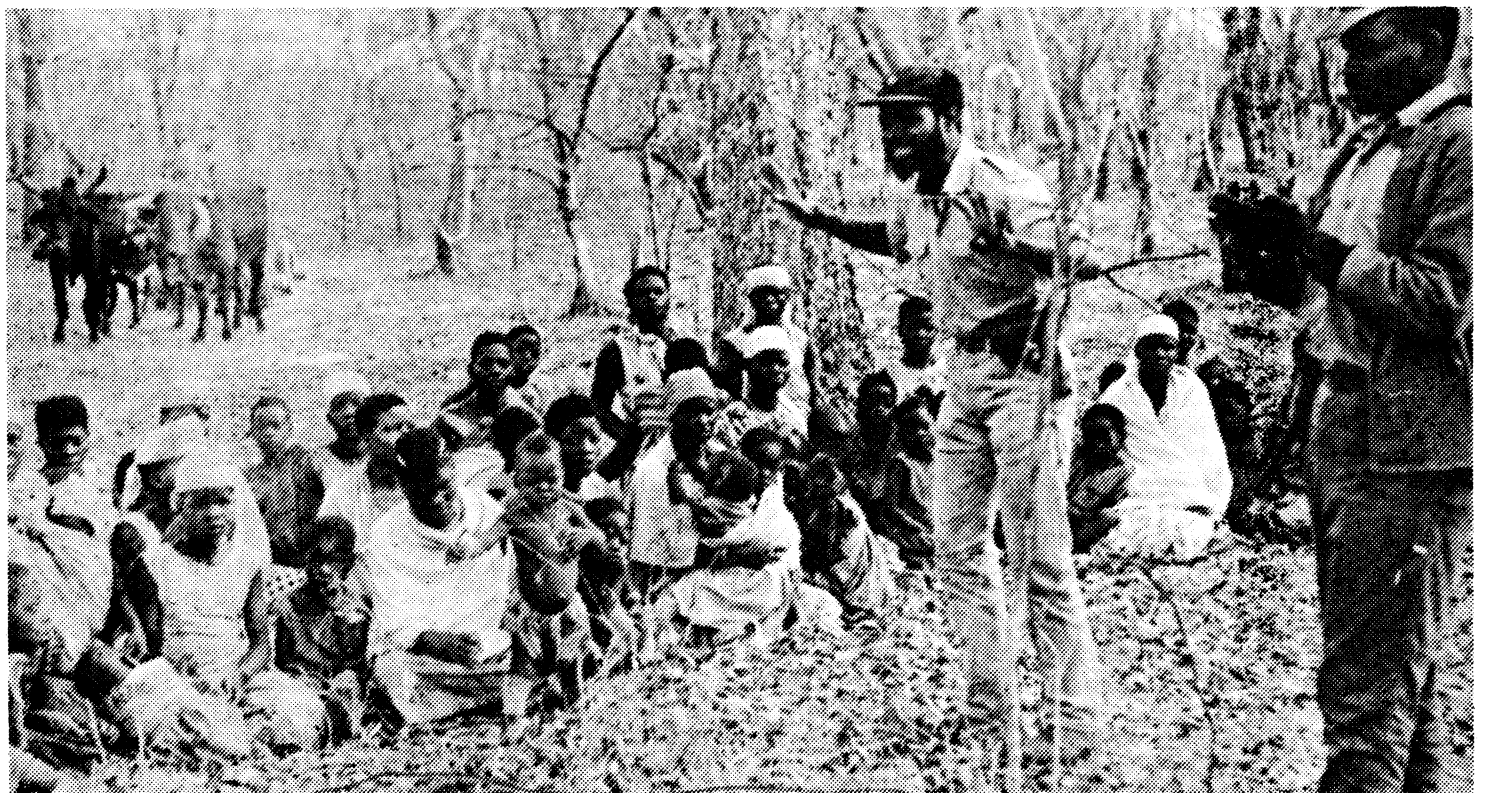
Frelimo leader Samora Machel issued a statement from Zambia saying that the revolt was the work of a "band of thugs." He announced that Frelimo would "not hesitate" to relaunch guerrilla war to defeat them.

The degree to which the Portuguese government can be trusted to help the transition to full independence was shown by their response to the coup. Portuguese Prime Minister Colonel Vasco dos Santos Gonçalves said that the Portuguese would try to avoid all violence. He rejected an offer of cooperation from Frelimo in putting down the coup, even though such cooperation is called for under the Lusaka agreements.

The *Times* reports that police and Portuguese troops did nothing when the strategic points in Lourenço Marques were seized. While crowds of armed whites control the city, the Portuguese have done nothing to stop them.

Their action is in contrast to their measures against Lourenço Marques's Black community. In the Black shantytown near Lourenço Marques airport a rebellion broke out in protest of the MFM coup.

While not yet lifting a finger against the MFM, the *Times* reports, Portuguese troops were sent in to put down the rebellion in the shantytown.



Frelimo President Samora Machel speaking to people of a liberated village prior to accord with Portugal

Afrique-Asie

'Creeping coup' by armed forces in Ethiopia overtakes Selassie

By Dick Fidler

Ethiopia's Emperor Haile Selassie, who styles himself the King of Kings, Elect of God, and Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah, is today under virtual house arrest in the capital city of Addis Ababa. Effective control of the country is in the hands of an "Armed Forces Committee" composed of junior officers in the Ethiopian army who have stripped the emperor of most of the key powers he held during forty-four years of autocratic rule. His key collaborators and family associates, including many leading members of the landed aristocracy, have been jailed by the military rulers.

A major turning point in the transfer of authority to the military movement occurred August 16.

"The Ethiopian military paraded through the capital today in a show of strength and unity aimed at stemming persistent rumors of growing dissension in the ranks," *Washington Post* correspondent David Ottaway reported from Addis Ababa.

"It was the first time the highly secretive Armed Forces Committee, the group behind the military reform, has come into the open to demonstrate the support it claims from all branches of the armed forces and police.

"The committee also took decisive steps in its war of attrition against Emperor Haile Selassie and the monarchy, dissolving the Crown Council, which was his highest advisory body, and the Imperial High Court, the highest judicial body.

"Further, it transferred the emperor's military staff to the Ministry of Defense, citing its high cost at a time of grave financial crisis. The emperor has now lost practically all his powers and most of his aristocratic allies have been taken into custody."

Included in the August 16 military parade were contingents of police, commandos, paratroopers, and army soldiers bearing the green tags of the Imperial Bodyguard. Three days earlier, some three or four thousand veterans and active members of the bodyguard, which was regarded as the

last force apparently loyal to the emperor, had marched on the imperial palace. The marchers protested the refusal of both the emperor and the prime minister to meet their claims for millions of dollars in unpaid salaries for service ten years ago in the United Nations "peacekeeping" force in Zaire (the former Belgian Congo).

The immediate events leading up to this dramatic shift in the relationship of forces between the emperor and the dissident military officers began when the rebel Armed Forces Committee issued a thirteen-point manifesto July 9, declaring their intention to determine the content of a new constitution that would severely reduce the powers of the emperor. On July 22, Premier Endalkachew Makonnen, who had been appointed five months earlier when the officers' revolt began, resigned. He was arrested the following day. Michael Imru, a cousin of Selassie, was appointed to succeed him as premier.

On August 6, the military surrounded the building where a thirty-member committee was drafting a new constitution and demanded that the draft be submitted for consideration to the Armed Forces Committee before being shown to the prime minister. When the committee refused, the military backed down and the draft was presented to the prime minister.

"Today, however," Ottaway reported August 7, "the military demanded that the draft be published immediately and that a special committee be set up to receive suggestions for changes from the general public. It also asked that all suggestions be sent directly to the [Armed Forces] Coordinating Committee and gave a post office box number in Addis."

The new constitution, which has not yet been published, reportedly establishes a constitutional monarchy in which the premier, elected by parliament for a four-year term, would be responsible solely to parliament, and not to the emperor as has been the case up to now.

Following the events of August 16, the military's supremacy over the ci-

vilian regime became even clearer. The *Washington Post* reported August 20 that Premier Imru had withdrawn his threatened resignation and submitted to military demands for a "phased resignation of four and possibly five ministers over the next few weeks. . . ." At the same time, the gov-



A Sept. 3 Associated Press dispatch reported a demonstration of students and unemployed youths in Addis Ababa who carried posters 'showing a picture of the emperor feeding his pet dogs alongside a picture of emaciated famine victims.' The demonstrators shouted 'Hang Haile Selassie.'

ernment-owned newspaper *Addis Zemen* began calling for the overthrow of Selassie, a campaign that was said to be inspired by the military. The deputy director of the National Grain Board suggested, in a letter published in an Amharic-language newspaper, that the country do away with the monarchy. *New York Times* correspondent Paul Hofmann cabled from Addis Ababa August 19 that "there is talk of a cabal of younger military officers who want to oust the Emperor and abolish the monarchy. Many radical students and intellectuals profess similar views."

A series of measures confirmed the military's leading role in the day-to-day operation of the government. On August 22 the Armed Forces Committee announced a rent freeze in urban areas and an indefinite ban on the eviction of tenants. The following day, it launched an austerity drive, calling on Ethiopians to work harder and avoid alcohol and prostitutes. On August 25, the committee announced that Selassie's residence, the Jubilee Palace, had been "nationalized" and renamed the National Palace. And on August 28, it was reported that the committee had ordered his Imperial Majesty not to leave the capital.

In every case, it was the military body that acted, not the civilian "government."

As part of the military-sponsored campaign against the old regime, the Ethiopian press has begun telling its readers for the first time some of the facts about the country's poverty and backwardness—and equally significantly, placing responsibility for these

conditions on the emperor himself. Recent press reports have noted that more than 95 percent of the population of 27 million are illiterate. A recent issue of the Amharic-language weekly *Yezareitu Ethiopia* cited World Health Organization figures indicating that some 9 million Ethiopians are suffering from venereal disease. The article estimated the number of prostitutes at over 335,000, or more than 2 percent of the entire female population.

On August 27, a special civilian commission investigating corruption and abuse of power under former governments acknowledged that the emperor was directly involved in the cover-up of the drought in northern Ethiopia that killed at least 100,000 peasants in 1973.



Afrique-Asie

On August 31, the Armed Forces Committee accused members of the royal family and the aristocracy of channeling their money abroad instead of investing it in Ethiopia.

And at least one critic of the old regime, a sergeant freed after spending seventeen years in jail, has publicly suggested that the emperor is guilty of complicity in the 1935 Italian invasion.

Addis Zemen has been publishing interviews with Ethiopians about their views of the draft constitutional charter. "One of the most interesting interviews," David Ottaway reported in the August 22 *Washington Post*, "was with a Coptic Priest, Tesfai Tadea, who discussed the contradiction between the principle of all Ethiopians being equal before the law and that of the emperor being above the law, 'sacred and inviolable.' . . ."

"Other people interviewed questioned the cost of the monarchy, nearly \$10 million, or about as much as the budget for the national universities this year, and blamed the monarch for Ethiopia's appalling poverty and backwardness."

The list of officials arrested and accused of abuse of power and corruption has reached deep into the emperor's immediate entourage.

The captives being held in the army's fourth division headquarters in the center of Addis Ababa were described by Ottaway in an August 22 dispatch to the *Washington Post*. "These were once the high and mighty of Ethiopia princes, imperial courtiers, provincial nobility, aristocratic land-

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Addis Ababa. Mass mobilizations continue in Ethiopia.

Regime backed by U.S. troops

South Korean dictatorship steps up witch-hunt

By Peter Green

The South Korean dictator Park Chung Hee has exploited to the full the attempt on his life August 15 in which his wife was killed.

He has tried to blame the assassina-tion attempt on the North Koreans, claiming that they masterminded the plot. He has pointed to the Japanese government, blaming it for allowing pro-North Korean political activity and for unwittingly issuing a passport to the assassin, who was identified by the Korean police as Mun Se Kwang, a Korean living in Osaka.

Anti-Japanese demonstrations were staged for days after the event in Seoul, Pusan, and Kwangju.

Attempts were also made to whip up feelings against North Korea. However, the South Korean police have been unable to produce any evidence showing North Korean involvement; and in fact the events are shrouded in a great deal of mystery and confusion.

For example, an early government version of the shooting claimed that the assailant rose from a seat in the front row of the National Theater during independence day activities, while later versions said that he ran down the center aisle firing a snub-nosed revolver. It isn't explained either how a man supposedly conspicuously involved in anti-Park activities could have been let into the heavily guarded ceremony hall carrying a loaded pis-

The Militant has received word from the secretariat of the 1974 Asian Youth Conference that protest actions demanding freedom for all political prisoners in South Korea will take place Sept. 18 and Sept. 19 in Japan. A mass rally is scheduled for Sept. 19, sponsored by all the opposition parties, including the Japanese Communist and Socialist parties.

The Asian Youth Conference was held July 24-26, culminating in a rally of 1,000 in Tokyo. The conference, which brought together youth from Hong Kong and Malaysia, Koreans living in Japan, and observers from Europe and the United States, issued an appeal for international actions this fall demanding release of the South Korean political prisoners.

tol, or why a spy would go on an assassination mission leaving his apartment strewn with documents showing his relation with the government employing him.

In spite of the glaring inconsistencies in its case, the Park regime has seized the opportunity to try to revive its flagging anti-Communist witch-hunt.

At the funeral for Park's wife August 19, Premier Kim Jong Pil asserted that "our First Lady fell victim to a diabolical bullet of a Communist."

Two Decrees Lifted

Four days later Park lifted two of his "emergency" decrees. One of them, imposed January 8, banned all discussion, criticism, and demands for revision of the constitution, and the

other, imposed April 3, prohibited all dissent against the government and its policies. They carried penalties ranging from imprisonment to death. Still in force are two decrees—one giving the government extraordinary powers over the economy, and the other establishing secret courts-martial and permitting arrests without warrant.

Park stated that there would be no amnesty for those who had been arrested and tried under the two decrees that were lifted. Trials and the judicial process would proceed, he said.

The August 23 *New York Times* reported that a spokesman for Park, Kim Seong Jin, said the Seoul government had imposed the emergency measures, at the cost of some "misunderstanding" by South Korea's friends, to alert the nation to the threat from Communist North Korea. According to Kim, the killing of Park's wife had made the nation better understand the Communist threat and the necessity for the emergency measures. But since the nation had been warned about the threat of Communism, he said, the time had come to lift the emergency decrees.

The Park regime rests on a very shaky social base. Owing its origins and continued existence to U.S. military might, and dependent economically on infusions of U.S. and Japanese capital, it has had to keep the mass of the South Korean population in check through a balance of harsh repression and virulent anti-Communist propaganda. When the joint communiqué was signed on July 4, 1972, between North and South Korea pledging to ease tension and clear the way for eventual reunification of the country, one element in Park's control of the population was undermined. The increased contact with the North laid bare the hollowness of his anti-Communist propaganda. Park has reacted by intensifying the repression, while at the same time trying to whip up an anti-Communist hysteria through spy scares and the like.

Repression Stepped Up

On October 17, 1972, Park declared martial law, dissolved the National Assembly, banned strikes and political activity, imposed censorship of the press, and suspended parts of the constitution. Shortly afterward he imposed a new constitution on the country intended to maintain his dictatorial rule indefinitely. This provoked demonstrations headed by students in the fall of 1973 that spread to broader layers of the population.

Park responded with ever harsher repressive measures. The victims have included prominent intellectuals, poets, writers, student leaders, politicians, and members of the clergy.

Two prominent individuals recently dragged before Park's special courts-martial were Bishop Daniel Chi Hak Soun and Yun Po Sun, a former president of the country. On August 12 Bishop Chi was sentenced to fifteen years jail and his civil rights were suspended for another fifteen years. Yun Po Sun, who is seventy-six years old, received a three-year suspended sentence.

Also sentenced were Park Hyung Kyu, a Protestant pastor (fifteen years

in prison and fifteen years suspension of civil rights); Kim Chang Kook, dean of the Yonsei Theological Seminary (ten years in prison and ten years suspension of civil rights); and Kim Dong Kil, a professor of American history at Yonsei (fifteen years in prison and fifteen years suspension of civil rights).

On August 7, the Ministry of National Defense, which is conducting the courts-martial, admitted that sixty more persons had been taken before the secret military courts in the previous week. On the following day it announced that an additional nineteen were being held. It was also announced that day that twenty-six defendants, mostly students, had received sentences ranging from three to fifteen years in prison.

On August 13, twelve more students were sentenced to ten to twenty years, and a prison guard received seven years for attempting to smuggle a student's letter out of prison. On August 14, the day before the assassination attempt, it was announced that thirty-six more people had been sentenced to prison, with terms ranging from five years to life, and it was expected that another twenty-three would be sentenced the following day.

A total of 171 persons are known to have been convicted under Park's decrees. The August 23 *New York Times* estimated that more than 300 persons had been arrested, tried, and convicted under the two decrees that were lifted.

A report prepared for Amnesty International by William J. Butler, a New York lawyer, and presented to the Foreign Affairs subcommittees of the U.S. House of Representatives, states that South Korea holds approximately 1,100 prisoners charged with, or convicted of, political crimes. The report says that prisoners have been tortured, held incommunicado for long periods, and denied the right to call witnesses in their behalf.

In spite of the extreme personal danger involved in even hinting at criticism of Park's regime or his decrees, there were sizable expressions of opposition, especially from Protestants and Catholics. Dissenters had to use very guarded language. The August 13 *New York Times* reported that after the sentencing of Bishop Chi and the Protestant leaders, services were held "in which political grievances were couched in the lan-



South Korean dictator Park

guage of religion."

"This morning, about 700 Protestants from the National Council of Churches, which represents half of Korea's 3.4-million Protestants, gathered at the Saemunan Presbyterian Church, near the capital, to take part in a prayer meeting based on the Book of Isaiah — 'The King must repent.'"

That evening, the *Times* reported, about 3,000 Catholics climbed the steep hill to their cathedral in downtown Seoul and read a message posted by their bishops: "The violation of human rights is a fearful crime against God."

Demonstrations against the Korean repression have been held in many cities around the world. Criticism has also come from various governments. The Belgian, French, and Italian ambassadors all called at the South Korean Foreign Ministry with expressions of concern. The Danish, Australian, and other governments have also protested.

Washington's Role

It took a while before Washington hopped on the bandwagon of pious protest. The August 4 *New York Times* reported that "when a protest mass was held in the Seoul Cathedral last week to demand the release of Bishop Chi, [U.S.] Ambassador Philip C. Habib, a Catholic, was not there. Conspicuously, the French and Belgian Ambassadors did attend.

However, the State Department later

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Sit-down protest by Seoul National University students during last fall's student upsurge.

...'Creeping coup' in Ethiopia overtakes Selassie

Continued from page WO2

lords, blue-blooded ministers and much-decorated generals. They could boast of ruling entire provinces, of owning enormous estates and commanding private armies and of belonging to royal families tracing their ancestry back two thousand years to the founding of the Ethiopian monarchy. . . .

"Officially, these prisoners of the revolution number about 150. But it is said the total number of arrested persons throughout the country is somewhere around 350."

If the military is allowing the press to lift the edge of the curtain on some of the old regime's corruption, there is still remarkably little information about the actual composition of the Armed Forces Committee.

But whatever the differences among them on the future of the country's state institutions, none have shown any sympathies toward demands of national minorities. One of the major factors that triggered the beginning of the "creeping coup" last February was the younger officers' despair at the Selassie regime's lack of success in suppressing the growing secessionist movement in Eritrea, the northernmost province, which contains much of the country's industry, important mineral deposits and its principal port, Massawa. The population of more than a million, mostly Muslim,

forms a distinct ethnic and cultural group.

The Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) is said to control large areas of the province outside Asmara, the capital, and the Red Sea ports of Massawa and Assab.

On August 16, the same day the army stripped Selassie of some of his powers and demonstrated its strength in the streets, all twenty-three Eritrean

members of the Ethiopian Chamber of Deputies resigned in protest against the government's policy in the province. They denounced the army's "massacres of the population," citing such atrocities as the summary execution in July of 170 civilians at Hom-Aguer, near the Sudanese border, in reprisal for attacks by the ELF. They also protested the suppression of news on events in Eritrea in the Ethiopian



Eritrean rebel forces. Armed Forces Committee of Ethiopia has refused to grant right of self-determination to oppressed people of Eritrea.

press and the fact that the government is still holding hundreds of political prisoners in Eritrea in violation of its own recently proclaimed amnesty.

The deputies' action provoked an unprecedented debate on the Eritrean question in the parliament on August 20. Without referring directly to the ELF, Prime Minister Imru declared that the government was ready to open a "peaceful dialogue and negotiations" with the rebel forces, but insisted that Eritrea must "remain a part of Ethiopia" and that the government would not agree to its secession. He claimed that 189 Eritreans the government admits are still in jail were not political prisoners but common criminals since they advocated secession.

Representatives of the Eritrean Liberation Front responded to the premier's speech by declaring that they were ready to participate in negotiations, but only with a view to achieving the "full independence of Eritrea," and only if the Eritrean Liberation Front were treated as the sole legitimate representative of the Eritrean people.

The August 17 *Washington Post*, in a dispatch from Addis Ababa, cited "Ethiopian officials" as saying they "doubted that the military would show much sympathy for Eritrean demands for a large degree of autonomy or even secession because of the province's strategic importance."

...South Korean dictatorship steps up witch-hunt

Continued from page WO3

said, "We do not approve of actions depriving people of their human rights. The Korean Government is very much aware of our views on these issues." President Ford also let it be known through his press secretary that he was "concerned" about political prisoners in Korea.

What the U. S. ruling class is really "concerned" about was explained in an editorial in the August 14 *Wall Street Journal*:

"In order to make sense of our military aid program, in Korea or elsewhere, it's important to leave aside talk about democracy and ask whether such assistance is in America's self-interest. Secretary of State Kissinger rightly told a Senate appropriations subcommittee that Washington does not recommend Seoul's domestic policy, but believes we have a national interest in what happens there. Critics may scorn such talk as a new domino theory, but South Korea's political and military stability is important to the future of Japan and East Asia. Thus U. S. aid to South Korea represents an investment in Asian security, not an investment in General Park."

'An Investment in Asian Security'

The word "investment" was aptly chosen by the *Wall Street Journal*. The previous day the paper had run a long analysis headed "South Korea Economy May Suffer as Result Of Political Repression." According to the article, businessmen "are beginning to reassess seriously the effect of present political measures on the nation's long-term investment climate."

The article concluded, however, that despite government harassment and corruption, "most foreigners admit

they are making money and successfully repatriating profits. They generally praise Korean workers, who are well-educated (86% of the adult population is literate), energetic and still willing to work for \$60 to \$70 a month. Moreover, the government encourages construction of high-pollution industries, such as steel and petrochemicals, which other nations now shun."

An article in the August 17 *New York Times* shed some light on why South Korean workers are so "willing" to work for \$60 to \$70 a month. It describes the superexploitation, and the repressive labor laws. Unions are legal, the article explains, but "union activity is hedged on all sides by legal restraints. To attract American and Japanese investment, for example, no union can be set up in a foreign-owned company without the management's consent. Collective bargaining is permitted in theory, but the Government's Office of Labor Affairs has the right to impose a settlement. Strikes are banned."

Thus, translating the language of the *Wall Street Journal* into ordinary speech, we see that "America's self-interest" means the interest of the American capitalists in exploiting the rest of the world, and an "investment in Asian security" includes, of course, political and military intervention to maintain that exploitation.

There are 38,000 American troops in South Korea. The U. S. force is still listed as the "United Nations Command," in accordance with the United Nations resolution approving Truman's decision to intervene militarily in Korea in 1950. The U. S. force includes an infantry division, a missile unit, an air defense brigade, and three fighter squadrons with about sixty F-4 Phantom jet planes. They are under

the command of seventeen generals and admirals.

The August 28 *New York Times* stated that "part of that command structure is a leftover from the Korean war period, part results from the political requirements of the mission here and part reflects the role of American generals as commanders and advisers of South Korean forces."

Thus criticism of Park's excesses by some sections of the American ruling class merely reflects a concern that his overzealous methods might have counterproductive effects. Edwin O. Reischauer, former ambassador to Japan and now a Harvard professor, defended this position before subcommittees of the House Foreign Relations Committee. The July 31 *New York Times* reported that Reischauer argued that Park's repressive policies "had so weakened South Korea that the United States should cut back on aid and perhaps withdraw some troops to press Mr. Park to liberalize his policies."

This stand was endorsed by the *New York Times* in an editorial August 4. It was also supported by the *Wall Street Journal* editorial already quoted, which after reaffirming the American "investment in Asian security," concluded:

"Nevertheless, this should not rule out a possible symbolic cutback in aid, or, as Edwin Reischauer recently suggested, a token withdrawal of some U. S. troops—enough to convey American displeasure over Mr. Park's increasingly authoritarian activities. As a general rule, noninterference in another's domestic affairs is the wisest policy one government can adopt toward another. But some 35,000 Americans were killed in the Korean war and the U. S. has invested some \$11 billion [milliard] in military and eco-

nomic aid in South Korea, so it can hardly be argued that Washington should have no influence there. It would be foolish to expect a model democracy in return for our investment, but the U. S. has a right and an obligation to protest Seoul's violation of civil and human rights."

The "symbolic cutback" was voted for in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on August 14. The committee set the figure at \$140 million instead of the \$157 million approved for the last fiscal year. Whether Congress will accept this cut remains to be seen.

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Need for a multinational Leninist party

Third of a series

By TONY THOMAS

In a recent article we discussed how the socialist revolution in this country will combine the struggle of the working class against capitalism with the national liberation struggles of Afro-Americans and other oppressed nationalities.

Marxists hold that this struggle can only be successful if it is led by a revolutionary Marxist party uniting the workers of all nationalities.

This is the goal that the Socialist Workers Party has set for itself: to build the mass, multinational workers party that will lead the American socialist revolution.

Among Black activists today there is a growing awareness of the need to build such a party, and a growing number have joined the Socialist Workers Party to participate in this task.

At the same time, many Black radicals who consider themselves pro-Marxist and pro-working class question the idea that a multinational revolutionary workers party is the indispensable instrument for the socialist revolution. Some believe that such a party should not be constructed at this time.

Others believe that it is sufficient to build an all-Black revolutionary party as the leadership of the revolution. Still others believe that some combination of all-Black, white, Puerto Rican, and Chicano groups will lead the struggle.

Fit the task

To understand what kind of party is needed to bring about revolutionary change in this country, we must begin with the nature of the task such a party sets for itself. The party must be designed to fit the task.

The meaning of a socialist revolution is to take power out of the hands of the ruling capitalist class and to bring to power the working class, the overwhelming majority of the population. A socialist revolution means taking over the means of production and running them democratically in the interests of the majority.

Such a revolution requires powerful forces. Blacks or any other single oppressed nationality in this country can not accomplish this task by themselves. It will require the active, creative power of the masses of working people, including decisive sectors of the white workers.



LNS/Howie Epstein

'We face the strongest state apparatus ever seen.'



Blacks moving out ahead in struggle can serve as example for other workers.

Furthermore, the process of developing revolutionary socialist consciousness is a process involving the working class as a whole, because of the objective intertwining of the struggles of the various sectors of the class. Thus a revolutionary party must be multinational if it is to carry out the program of Marxism.

When we look at the specifics of the American revolution and the Afro-American struggle, this becomes all the more clear. The coming revolution in this country flows most fundamentally from the contradiction between the exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class and the workers' resistance to this exploitation.

The struggle of workers against economic exploitation and the struggle of Blacks against national oppression are linked. Black oppression flows fundamentally from more severe economic exploitation—lower wages, worse jobs, greater unemployment.

The linkage between the struggle of Blacks and that of workers as a whole is especially apparent as the class struggle sharpens, because the ruling class will use increased attacks on Afro-Americans to divide the workers and to try to cover up its own economic crisis.

An essential part of the development of class consciousness among the working class will be the development of Black consciousness and militancy in the struggle against racist oppression. Similarly, the development of class combativity in the working class as a whole can only heighten the spirit of Black resistance.

Afro-Americans are not cordoned off from other workers. Black workers work in the same plants, fight in the same unions, live in the same cities as other workers. Questions affecting the entire working class—such as war, inflation, pollution, the oppression of women, government attacks on democratic rights—not only affect Blacks, but affect Blacks more than most other workers because of the deeper oppression Blacks face.

For these reasons a party that seeks to gain the leadership of the working class must be multinational from the outset. To lead forward the intertwined process of revolutionary development, it must intervene in every aspect of the class struggle.

A party that is not multinational

could not provide leadership for this process. It could not aspire to serve as the practical leadership of all revolutionists of all sectors of the masses. It could not even organize and lead united struggles in the big industrial plants, industries, and unions that are composed of Black, white, Puerto Rican, and Chicano workers, not to speak of the working-class revolution. It could not carry out its revolutionary program.

Centralized party

There is another way in which the need for a multinational revolutionary party flows from the nature of the party's task. That is, the revolutionary party must be a centralized combat party because of the centralized power of the ruling capitalist class it aims to topple.

In the United States we face the strongest and most centralized state apparatus ever seen. The imperialists who control the state have enormous wealth and power in their hands. The degree to which these capitalists will go to protect their empire was shown clearly in Indochina, where they were willing to slaughter millions to maintain capitalism.

In this country, the rulers have built up gigantic armies of police and other repressive forces to maintain class exploitation and national oppression. The Watergate revelations have exposed the methods the police, the FBI,



'Lenin fought to unite workers of every nationality in one centralized party.'

and other agents of the capitalists will use to try to disrupt, repress, and destroy movements of the oppressed.

A loose federated movement is insufficient to take on such a powerful enemy. What is needed is a democratically centralized party with a scientific strategy based on the lessons learned from the experience of the international struggles of workers and other oppressed peoples during the past century. What is needed is a party that will unite revolutionists from all sectors of the class around the program of socialist revolution by the masses of workers themselves.

Divisions

Many who reject the idea of building a multinational Marxist party claim that the divisions between whites and Blacks are too deep to build a revolutionary movement that unites them. Some claim this can only be accomplished at some future time, after

the consciousness of the white workers catches up with the more advanced consciousness in the Black community.

But such revolutionary-minded Blacks are needed right now to participate in building the revolutionary party of the whole working class.

The building of a multinational revolutionary party cannot wait until the future. Such a party is needed immediately to project a working-class alternative for the central political questions facing the American people.

Just consider the problems of the current economic crisis and the domination of the Democratic and Republican parties over political life in this country. In the 1976 elections, the ruling class and its agents in the labor movement and the Black community will again be telling the workers to support Democratic Party candidates.

The Socialist Workers Party will be presenting a class alternative to the capitalist politicians. It will do this not only in the elections, but also through support to all independent struggles.

Dual character

In participating in such activities, the revolutionary party has to take into account the dual character of the struggle of Black people—the fact that it is part of the struggle of all workers, while at the same time having its own dynamic. Thus, all-Black struggles and organizations have arisen and will arise, and they will be supported and built by revolutionists.

When Blacks move out ahead in such struggles, the revolutionary party can point to them as examples to other workers, showing how struggle can bring results.

This is key to revolutionary socialist strategy, which is based on propelling forward the consciousness and organized power of the working class, rather than condemning different sectors for their "backwardness."

The idea of building separate vanguard organizations until the unevenness in consciousness between whites and Blacks disappears is a strategy that will cut across such a process. Such a proposal would prevent revolutionists from sharing the common lessons that can help end the unevenness among different sectors of the masses by bringing them together around a revolutionary program.

Lenin

In order to understand why a multinational party is needed to carry out the revolution, it is important to look at the experience of the Bolshevik party, which succeeded in leading the first victorious socialist revolution—the Russian revolution of October 1917.

The question of national liberation movements was of key importance for the Bolsheviks. Russia was a country in which the many different oppressed nationalities made up the majority of the population.

Continued on page 22

For further reading:

Black Liberation and Socialism

Edited by Tony Thomas, paper \$2.45

Order from: PATHFINDER PRESS
410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

Robert Moses: a 'King Rat' in corruption

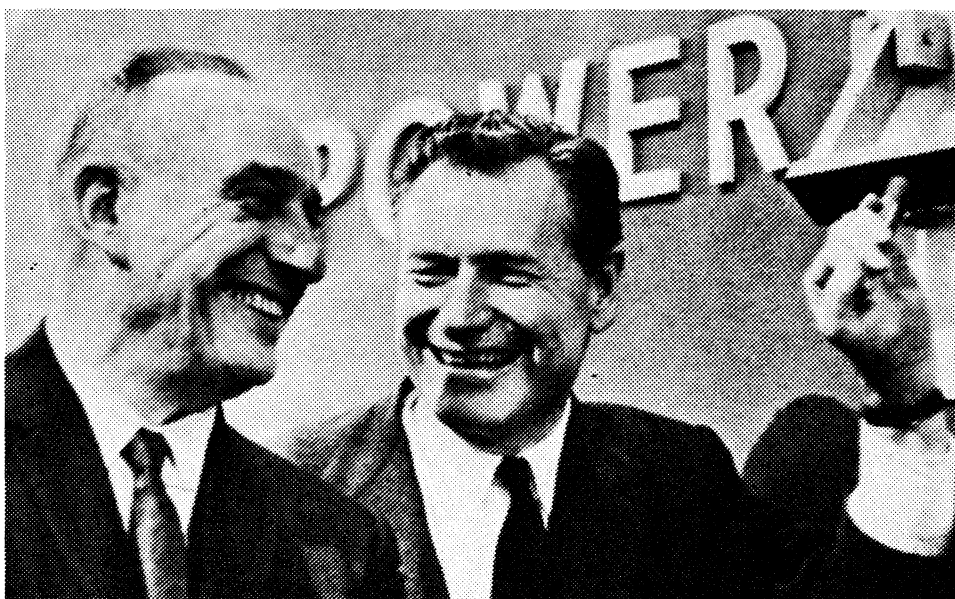
The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York by Robert Caro. Alfred Knopf. New York, 1974. 1,246 pp.

For 40 years Robert Moses dominated public works construction in the state of New York.

He held 12 different city and state jobs at once and oversaw \$27-billion worth of projects. These projects included the Triborough, Verrazano, and Whitestone bridges; Jones Beach; Saint Lawrence power project; and most of the major highways in New York City and Long Island.

While debate might rage over the wisdom of this or that huge enterprise, Moses himself enjoyed a reputation as a master builder, the public servant above politics, the 'Man Who Got Things Done.'

Robert Caro's massive biography, the product of seven years of research, dynamites this myth. If Moses got things done, it was because they were the things the banks and corporations



Moses (left) with Nelson Rockefeller, who had the real power

to dig up dirt on potential enemies, and public relations men to spread that dirt, whether real or invented. And it can mean profits, unimaginable profits for a handful of bankers and real estate speculators.

"One cannot dip a toe into the waters of New York politics," Caro writes, "without sensing, moving deep beneath the surface the presence of an enormous force, a power unseen but immense: the power of banks." And Moses had what the banks prized most: the tax-exempt bonds of his Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority, the "highest-yielding of an investment-grade security after tax," according to Dwayne Saunders of the Chemical Bank.

To the banks and the auto and oil companies, mass transit spelled deficit, while auto traffic meant rich profits. So Moses built only for autos, even where planning a rail line and

highway together along the same right-of-way would have been simple. He even banned buses from his parkways—and deliberately built the overpasses so low that buses could not use them.

Moses's supporters also included reactionary union bureaucrats such as Harry Van Arsdale and Peter Brennan. From Moses and the Democrats the Brennans and Van Arsdales wheedled some jobs for the mostly white skilled workers (and very comfortable salaries for themselves).

Moses did build housing and do "slum clearance." But it was housing mostly for the affluent, and his highways and "urban renewal" dislocated as many as half a million tenants, who then crowded into the remaining housing, helping to perpetuate and even enlarge slum areas.

He did build parks, but most of them were reachable only by car

owners, not the poor who were limited to mass transit. Of 255 playgrounds built during the 1930s by Parks Commissioner Moses, only one was located in Harlem, which needed them most.

Moses planned great highways, but they became congested as fast as they were built, reinforcing a pattern that claims 50,000 human lives each year in auto accidents.

Throughout his career Moses was a union-hater and red-baiter who "practiced McCarthyism long before there was a McCarthy," in Caro's words.

Caro provides many anecdotes illustrating Moses's arrogance, ruthlessness, and love of power. Moses was able to amass his power by being such a fervent champion and obedient servant of the profit system.

The ruling class made Moses; it could break him as well. When then governor Nelson Rockefeller decided that his brother Lawrence and his flunky Bill Ronan should take over Moses's park and transportation functions, Moses's power was broken.

The most ghastly revelation of the Caro book, however, is that for all this Moses was the best that capitalism could offer. Since his semiretirement, New York has been "utterly unable to meet the needs of its people in areas requiring physical construction," Caro writes, although the skills, wealth, and matériel to create them sit unused.

However, what New York needs is not a new urban dictator but a movement of its working people fighting for a massive program of public works. It needs a program that would not only create thousands of new jobs for today's unemployed, but would remold the city in a design cast by human needs and not private profits.

—STEVE BECK

Books

and their political hirelings wanted done. It was because Moses was a 'King Rat' in the sewer of corruption that was and is capitalist politics in New York.

What can \$27-billion buy? It can not only purchase men and mortar and machinery, but also influence with politicians eager for legal fees, insurance commissions, public relations contracts, and other plums for themselves and their friends.

It can buy lavish meals for influential guests. It can hire "bloodhounds"

'Herstory': writing women into history

Women Out of History: A Herstory Anthology. Edited by Ann Forfreedom. Published by Ann Forfreedom. Los Angeles, 1972. 255 pp. \$3.50.

An early women's liberation poster proclaims:

*Our history has been stolen from us
Our heroes died in childbirth,
from peritonitis
overwork
oppression
from bottled-up rage.
Our geniuses were never taught
to read or write.
We must invent a past
adequate to our ambitions.
We must create a future
adequate to our needs.*

Women Out of History, edited by the West Coast feminist Ann Forfreedom, is just such an attempt to write women back into history. The selections are taken primarily from contemporary women's journals and newsletters. They cover a broad range of issues, including articles on the matriarchy, the status of women in medieval Europe, women as intellectuals and scientists, women in revolution, and the fight for suffrage.

Some of the selections are by well-known women, such as Evelyn Reed and Helen Diner, writing on the matriarchy; Mary Beard, the historian; or Alta, the feminist poet.

The collection is a pioneering effort, with both the excitement such a

work inspires and the handicap such a broad survey imposes.

But even when one may disagree with an author's conclusions, it is good to see feminists grappling with the problems of reconstructing women's history. In a real sense, the collection is an attempt to pull together some of the work available and to inaugurate a discussion on some of the more controversial theories.

Three articles specifically discuss how women have been deliberately written out of history. Mary Beard catches the professional historian ignoring women, while Ann Forfreedom catalogs the various methods by which the historian distorts the role of women. Dolores Barracano Schmidt

Books

analyzes the most standard American history texts and discusses what the historian chooses to tell about women—the revealing adjectives they use, the pictures that are used to illustrate the texts.

Perhaps the two most stimulating articles are Gayle Louie's history of Chinese women in the United States and Bernice Mitchell's analysis of Genesis, the first book of the Bible.

Louie's "Forgotten Women" recounts the system of illegal immigration and traffic in prostitution that grew up on the West Coast after the imposition of

the Chinese Immigration Law in 1882. The kind of racist and sexist comments one heard from the pious officials of the nineteenth century are, not surprisingly, ones that are still being echoed today.

Louie reports that Doctor Toland, a member of the San Francisco board of health, believed that all men with venereal disease had contracted it in Chinatown. The venereal disease charge is the same one that has been leveled against undocumented Mexican workers today.

Mitchell's "Secrets of Genesis" is a fascinating analysis that points to a matriarchal tradition that predates the patriarchy of the Bible. By rereading Genesis with Mitchell's critical explanation as a key, one can not only gain greater knowledge of what constituted the matriarchy, but also the process by which the patriarchy had to recreate the world in its own image—with its own male gods and a law based on property rights.

Ann Forfreedom is a longtime activist in the feminist movement. Her concern, as editor and publisher of this anthology, is to record the contributions of women, to uncover the story of woman's oppression, to instill a sense of pride and identity in being female, and to inspire women to become feminist historians.

Women Out of History is a contribution to the growing body of work that will write women back into history.

—DIANNE FEELEY



Women voting for first time in Wyoming, Sept. 6, 1870. The struggle for women's suffrage isn't adequately covered in standard history texts.

Campaigning for socialism

KEEP 'SWAT' OUT OF INDIANAPOLIS: Last month this column reported on a statement issued by Greg Peterson, Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate in Indiana, protesting the organization of a "Special Weapons and Tactics" (SWAT) police unit in Indianapolis. SWAT is an elite cop squad that has been used in other cities to terrorize the Black community.

Since then the *Indianapolis Recorder*, the city's major Black newspaper, has published an editorial opposing the SWAT squad.

The editorial approvingly quotes Peterson's statement that "I am vehemently opposed to any decoy, stake-out squad, or 'special weapons' force in Indianapolis. Black people in this city are all too aware . . . of the system of justice, . . . where crooks like Spiro Agnew are let off scot-free, while blacks accused of crimes are often gunned down in the streets or railroaded into prison on trumped-up charges."

The Indiana SWP campaign also held a joint news conference last month with the local chapter of the African Liberation Support Committee to protest the cop terror squad. The news conference was covered by local radio, TV, and press.

MICHIGAN SOCIALISTS WIN RIGHT TO RALLY: The Michigan Socialist Workers Party scored a victory for free speech last month by establishing its right to hold street rallies without police harassment.

A previous rally had been stopped by cops for allegedly violating a law against use of "artificial sound." The SWP campaign notified the news media of its intention to challenge such selective enforcement, and proceeded to hold a rally at the edge of the Eastern Produce Market, a popular Saturday shopping area in Detroit.

Ruth Getts, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor, pointed to the hypocrisy of the city officials. "Last week Jerry Cavanaugh, former Detroit mayor and Democratic candidate for governor, held a street rally. He used not one but two bullhorns, and there was not a cop in sight," she said.



Militant/Jo Hendrickson
Ruth Getts, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor of Michigan, asserts socialists' right to hold street rallies without harassment.

"The rulers of this city didn't complain about the 'excessive noise' made by Jerry Cavanaugh. In fact, he stood on top of a city truck paid for by our tax dollars to give his speech."

The SWP campaign has since received a letter from the city attorney stating that the sound ordinance will not be enforced.

JET ON BAILEY: The following item appeared in the Sept. 12 issue of the mass-circulation Black weekly *Jet*:

"It would be truly revolutionary if the next mayor of Washington, D.C., were to be an attractive, petite, Afro-coiffed 21-year-old Black woman. And revolution is what Ferelene N. (Nan) Bailey is all about.

"A recent graduate of Brown University in Providence, R.I., Miss Bailey is the District of Columbia mayoral candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

"She has pledged to build a revolution which will change a system in which 'billionaires and big businessmen' have control."

SWP CAMPAIGNS AT WEST INDIAN FESTIVAL: A West Indian cultural festival, held in the Prospect Park area of Brooklyn, drew an estimated 500,000 people this year. The annual event includes exhibits, food, cultural events, children's programs, and an all-day marching and dancing parade.

Supporters of the campaign of Maxine Williams, Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate from Brooklyn, attended the festival and distributed 3,000 pieces of campaign material.

People attending the events bought 79 copies of *The Militant* and *Young Socialist*, 69 copies of the Pathfinder Press pamphlet *Black Power in the Caribbean*, and other revolutionary literature—half of it in French.

OREGON SOCIALIST DEMANDS TO APPEAR IN VOTER'S PAMPHLET: John Studer, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Oregon, is demanding the right to appear in this fall's *Voter's Pamphlet* along with his opponents in the two capitalist parties.

The *Voter's Pamphlet* is a state-published guide to the candidates that is mailed to all registered voters in Oregon before each election.

Last June the Oregon secretary of state's office agreed the SWP candidate would appear. But since Studer submitted material on his campaign and paid the required \$150 fee, the secretary of state has decided to challenge his right to appear.

Studer and the three other SWP candidates in Oregon are forced to run as write-in candidates because Oregon's undemocratic election law requires 40,000 signatures on nominating petitions to win ballot status.

The secretary of state now claims write-in candidates do not have the right to appear in the *Voter's Pamphlet*. The dispute has been referred to the state attorney general for a ruling.

Supporters of Studer's right to be included in the pamphlet include State Representative Howard Willits and Nathan Proby, chairman of United Minority Workers. —ANDY ROSE

13,000 D.C. clerks strike food chains

By NAN BAILEY

WASHINGTON, D.C. — In a decision that surprised grocery-chain bosses and union officials alike, members of Retail Clerks International Association Local 400 voted here Sept. 4 to reject a proposed contract offer.

At a meeting of 4,000 clerks, union officials urged acceptance of the contract, but were voted down by more than 80 percent of the union members present. The clerks said the contract offered no protection against inflation.

After the strike vote was taken, one union member explained, "The main reason the contract was rejected was simply that we didn't want a three-year contract. Hell, with inflation and

the city, urging support for the strike and the SWP campaign. At two picket lines, the sound truck was greeted by strikers yelling, "Right on!" and waving clenched fists.

The socialist candidates were cheered as they spoke at campaign rallies at the major stores and then joined the picket lines.

Allan Budka, SWP candidate for city council chairman, spoke at one rally, calling for a guaranteed cost-of-living escalator clause in every worker's contract, so that "every time prices go up, our paychecks are increased too."

Although the SWP candidates have urged the other candidates for local office (more than 100 are in the race)



Striking clerks have shut down most of 500 affected stores in D.C. area

everything, you can't even tell what's going to happen tomorrow, let alone three years from now."

The disputed contract offered clerks a 15 percent pay raise in 1974, a 4 percent raise in 1975, and another 4 percent in 1976. With no cost-of-living clause, these terms guaranteed that the clerks' wages would fall far behind inflation.

Union members assert that they want to be able to defend themselves against unpredictable inflation by having the right to renegotiate the contract after one year.

Soon after the strike vote was taken, picket lines went up at the major chain stores involved, including those of Safeway, Giant, and A&P. The strike involves 13,000 clerks at 500 stores in the D.C. area.

Three other grocery store unions in the region have already ratified three-year contracts identical to the one rejected by Local 400. If Local 400 is able to win its demand for a one-year contract, the victory is certain to cause dissatisfaction in the ranks of the other unions.

The strike has been successful in closing down most of the major chain stores and in forcing the stores that remain open to function at a minimal and irregular pace. Service at these stores is slow, and customers trying to shop at them are backed up in lines sometimes for hours. Business at food stores unaffected by the strike has jumped considerably.

The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in D.C. have made support for the striking clerks a major issue in their campaign, helping to publicize the issues of the strike and urging D.C. residents to honor the picket lines.

The SWP candidates and their supporters took the socialist campaign to picket sites around the city on Sept. 6. A campaign sound truck toured

to lend their support to the strike, none have done so. This has not gone unnoticed by the clerks. In contrast to the friendly reception for the socialist campaign, at one picket site the campaign caravan of Democratic candidate Walter Washington—currently D.C.'s appointed mayor—was booed by pickets as it drove by.

Speaking at another street rally, socialist city council candidate Anne Powers said, "Striking workers are up against the same food-store owners who have contributed generously to the campaigns of Democrats and Republicans now seeking office. We need representatives of labor in D.C. government—not Democrats like Walter Washington, whose loyalties are with the owners of the big food chains."



Militant/Eric Simpson
Nan Bailey, SWP candidate for mayor of Washington, D.C., joins retail clerks' picket line.

Calendar

ATLANTA

FORD AND ROCKEFELLER: THE TEAM NOBODY ELECTED. Speaker: Joel Aber, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 20, 8:30 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

DETROIT

BACK TO SCHOOL—THE FAILURE OF AMERICAN EDUCATION. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Sept. 20, 8:00 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION'S ATTACK ON THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE. Fri., Sept. 20, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

NASHVILLE

REVOLT IN PORTUGAL: ITS IMPACT AT HOME AND IN AFRICA. Speaker: Warren Duzak, Nashville Young Socialist Alliance. Thurs., Sept. 19, 8 p.m. Room 208, East Carmichael Towers (24th Ave. North and West End). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Forum.

ST. LOUIS

HOUSING IN ST. LOUIS: THE BOND ISSUE FRAUD. Speakers: Larry Black, People's Coalition against Lead Poisoning; Percy Green, chairman, ACTION; Barbara Mutnick, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Missouri; Ivory Perry, Metropolitan Tenants Organization. Fri., Sept. 20, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Room 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SAN DIEGO

WOMEN IN REVOLT: AN INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE. Speaker: Jessica Star, recently returned from speaking tour in Australia and New Zealand; others. Fri., Sept. 20, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SEATTLE

HELP PUT SOCIALIST WORKERS CANDIDATES ON THE BALLOT. Socialist Workers Nominating Convention. Tues., Sept. 17, 7 a.m.-10 p.m. Campaign program at 8 p.m. Speaker: Fred Lovgren, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress, 1st C.D. Ausp: Washington Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

...Chile

Continued from page 4

body. I have absolutely no reason to suppose it."

Now compare the *New York Times* account of the testimony Colby gave behind closed doors: "Mr. Colby . . . maintained that all of the agency's operations against the Allende Government were approved in advance by the 40 Committee in Washington, a secret high-level intelligence panel headed by Secretary of State Kissinger."

Times reporter Seymour M. Hersh attempted to verify Kissinger's role on the 40 Committee by checking with other Washington sources. "One fully

informed official, told of The New York Times's intention to publish an account of the clandestine C. I. A. activities in Chile, declared, 'This thing calls for balanced reporting to put the blame where it should be laid.'

"The agency didn't do anything without the knowledge and consent of the 40 committee," he said, pointedly adding that the committee was headed by Mr. Kissinger, who was then serving as President Richard M. Nixon's National Security Adviser."

According to other Washington officials Hersh contacted, tactical differences over the best way to overthrow Allende at times divided the 40 Committee's members. Hersh reported:

"A number of officials whose information about such activities has been accurate in the past declared in interviews this week that there was a sharp split between some State Department officials and Mr. Kissinger over the 40 Committee's Chile policy. . . .

"In the period before the coup," one official said, 'there was a pretty firm view on the part of the 40 Committee—which is Kissinger and nobody else—that the Allende Government was bound to come to destruction and had to be thoroughly discredited.'

"The State Department supported this, but in a different way," the official recalled. 'It wanted to stretch out any clandestine activities to permit the regime to come to a political end.'

"The argument was between those who wanted to use force and end it quickly rather than to play it out. Henry was on the side of the former—he was for considerable obstruction."

Secret documents uncovered in March 1972 by nationally syndicated columnist Jack Anderson showed that the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation worked closely with the CIA in Chile and at one point even offered the CIA \$1 million to help speed up the agency's efforts. At a closed hearing on Chile before a House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee last October, Colby refused to rule out the possibility that some of the anti-Allende demonstrations may have been funded by subsidiaries of U.S. corporations in Brazil and other Latin American countries.

...pardon

Continued from page 5

for the wealthy minority. The majority, which is poor, they have no justice. There is no democracy. This 'democratic' system is falling apart. Really, when you look at it, we are living the last days of capitalism."

Indeed, there is no justice in capital-

ist America for working people and the oppressed nationalities. The courts and the laws they are supposed to uphold are designed to serve and protect the privileges of the big businessmen, bankers, and real estate sharks that run this country.

For there to be real justice in this country, working people and the oppressed nationalities need to take the power out of the hands of the tiny minority, the capitalist class, and wield it in the interests of the majority. Then we could take over the half-hearted Watergate investigations (as well as launching a few of our own). We could root out and bring to justice every single capitalist crook and their henchmen like Nixon.

...Newark

Continued from page 12

against those arrested during the police attack on the Hispanic Festival, 2) an independent investigation committee to look into the police attack, and 3) a civilian police-review board.

The People's Committee decided to take up a petitioning campaign begun by the Congress of African People and other forces some time ago to get a referendum on the November ballot for a civilian police-review board.

To continue the community mobilization against the police attack, the People's Committee is planning a rally for Sept. 15. This will be a test of Mayor Gibson's earlier decision to ban all demonstrations of three or more people.

...party

Continued from page 19

Lenin fought for years within the Bolshevik party against any attempt to remove or downplay support to the national rights of the oppressed peoples. After the Bolsheviks took power in 1917, they granted full national independence to all peoples who wanted it. (The Leninist policy of supporting the national rights of oppressed nations was later reversed by the conservative bureaucratic caste, led by Stalin, that gained control of the Soviet Union after Lenin died.)

Lenin was also the strongest fighter for uniting the workers of every nationality in Russia into one centralized party. He strongly fought the Jewish Bund and other organizations that favored a federated party with auton-

omy for the different national sections of the party.

In June 1913, Lenin wrote:

"The Party should not be federative in structure and should not form national [revolutionary socialist] groups but should unite the proletarians of all nations in the given locality, conduct propaganda and agitation in *all* the languages of the local proletariat, promote the common struggle of the workers of all nations against every kind of national privilege. . . ." (*Collected Works*, volume 19, page 249.)

The objective contradictions of capitalism can only sow the seeds for the socialist consciousness of the workers. The victory of socialism, Lenin pointed out over and over again, can take place only if there is a revolutionary party to lead the mass of working people—of all nationalities—to victory.

Both in periods of extreme decline in the class struggle and in periods in which the seizure of power by the workers is a practical possibility, the revolutionary process can only be carried forward by a multinational party—a party that goes through the experiences of, and provides leadership for, the entire working class and all oppressed nationalities.

That is why Afro-Americans who understand the interconnections between capitalism and racism, between class struggle and Black liberation should join and help to build the Socialist Workers Party, the nucleus of the mass multinational workers party that will lead the American revolution.

Correction

There were two errors in last week's story on the antideportation demonstration in New York City. The march was sponsored by the National Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices. The many groups listed participated in the demonstration, but all are not members of the coalition.

Also, according to a press release issued by the coalition this week, CODI, the Committee for the Defense of Immigrants, participated in the disruption of the rally.

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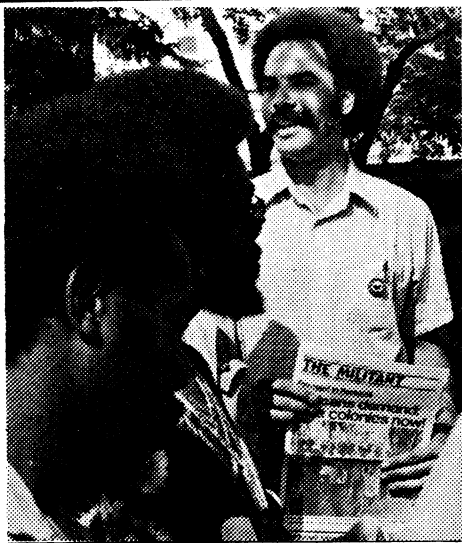
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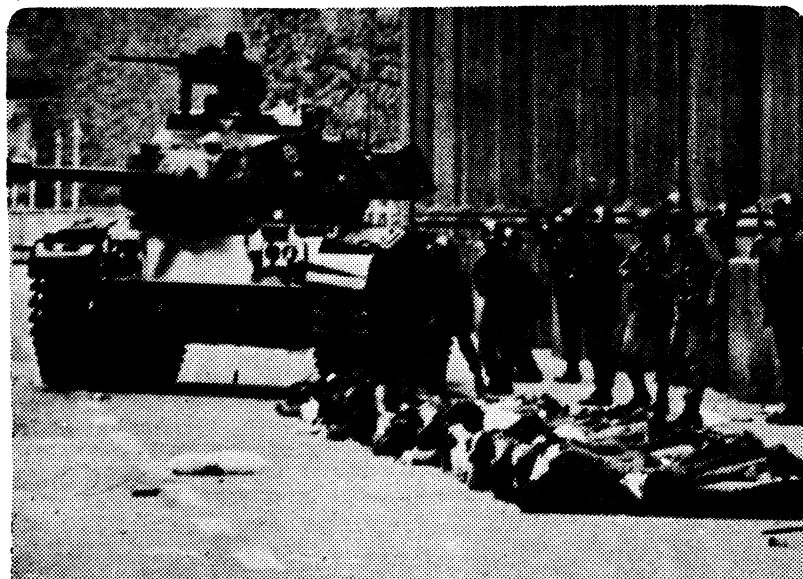
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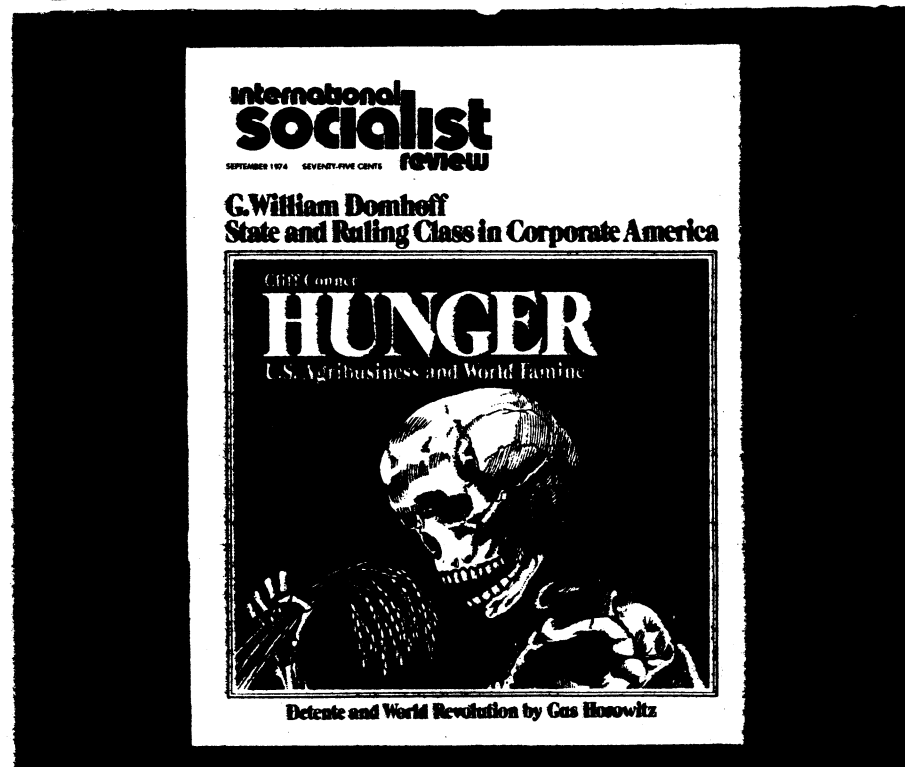
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THE MILITANT

SWP letter to Pres. Ford

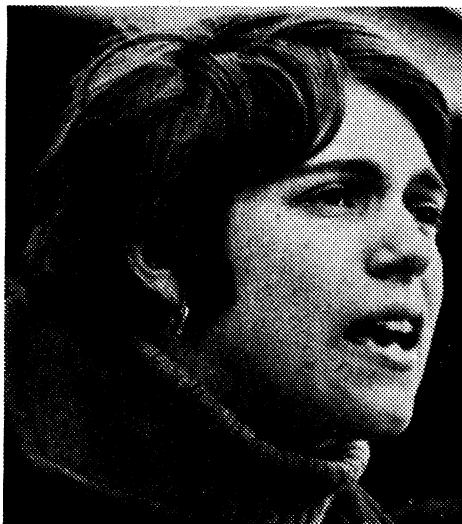
What voice for workers at economic 'summit'?

To President Ford:

The Socialist Workers Party demands time to present its views on the causes of and solutions to the current economic crisis at the "summit conference" on inflation that you have called for Sept. 27-28.

In announcing the conference, your press secretary declared that you want to involve "everyone in the country — every part of America." The organizer of the conference, L. William Seidman, has reportedly "emphasized that the gatherings would seek as wide and representative a collection of views as possible."

This is a cynical fraud. The conference is in fact being organized to exclude any representation for the chief victims of both inflation and recession — the working people.



Militant/Brian Shannon

BUSTIN, DIXON: Demand hearing for socialist ideas at 'summit conference.'

This exclusion was evident at the Sept. 5 meeting of economists from the big banks, corporations, and universities. Although they had slightly different guesses on how fast prices and unemployment will rise, and minor differences in their prescriptions, all who spoke represented fundamentally the same viewpoint.

All were agreed that the workers must be forced to shoulder the costs of the economic crisis of American capitalism. This is to be accomplished

For article on Sept. 5 "presummit" meeting of economists, turn to page 18.

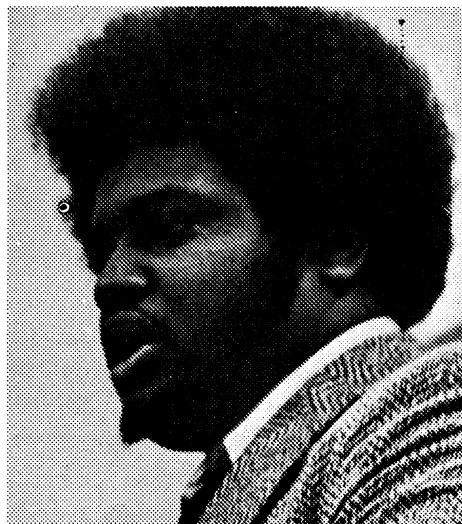
through more inflation, more layoffs, cutbacks in welfare and other social services, and speedup on the job ("higher productivity," you like to say), which will endanger workers' health and lives. Why? To maintain the profits of a handful of multimillionaires.

These capitalist economists readily reached a consensus in branding wage increases as the cause of inflation. This lie will be the rationale for the new wage controls you are now pre-

paring to impose.

Working people find prices higher every time they go to the supermarket. The average person's consumption of food has actually fallen in the last year, according to your own statistics. Buying their own home, or sending their children to college, is now beyond the means of most families.

You recently called on "all Americans without exception to make sacrifices in order to hold down wages and prices." What hypocrisy! As you well know, prices and profits have never been higher, while the purchasing power of wages is rapidly falling and is now no higher than in 1965. Your celebrated "jawboning" held General Motors down to a "mere" \$426 per car price increase. If you were honest, you would say, "I call



Militant/Charles Ostrafsky

on workers to sacrifice even more to line the pockets of the superrich."

Who will be heard at your "summit" to voice the needs and aspirations of working people? You have invited a few top union officials as token representatives for 90 million wage workers. But these bureaucrats do not even speak for union members. They offer no alternative whatsoever to your antilabor policies.

Who will speak for the millions thrown out of work? Your economists banter double-talk about whether "full employment" means 4 or 5 percent unemployment. You admit you have no intention of providing public service jobs until the official jobless rate reaches 7 percent, and even then only a few thousand positions at substandard pay would be created.

Who will speak for Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed minorities — the last hired, first fired, and lowest paid? While you refuse to admit the country is in a recession, unemployment for minority youth is already at depression levels, and nearly one-third of all Black families live below the official poverty level.

Who will speak for the aged and people on welfare? These are people

who are being ground down into absolute poverty, forced to eat dog food because that is all they can afford. The paltry benefits they receive are fast being eroded by inflation, yet you plan to cut them even further.

Who will speak for women, who earn only three-fifths as much as men do for full-time work?

The Socialist Workers Party speaks to the interests of the oppressed and exploited of this society — the vast majority. This year we are running more than 100 candidates for Congress and state and local office in 15 states and the District of Columbia. Our campaigns are presenting the socialist alternative to the bipartisan racist and antilabor policies of the Democrats and Republicans.

The disagreements to be aired at your "summit conference" are tactical. Our party's disagreements with all you political hirelings and intellectual prostitutes of Wall Street are fundamental. We say working people did not create this crisis and have no reason to sacrifice for it.

The key points we put forward as an immediate platform for safeguarding the living standards of working people may be summarized as follows:

FULL PROTECTION AGAINST INFLATION

- For substantial catch-up wage increases for all workers.
- For cost-of-living escalator clauses in all union contracts, to keep wages fully abreast of rising prices.
- Attach an escalator clause to all social benefits: pensions, welfare, Social Security, unemployment and veterans' payments.

JOBS FOR ALL

- For a shorter workweek with no cut in weekly take-home pay, to spread the available work to all who need jobs.
- For an immediate massive program of useful public works to provide millions of jobs at union wages. Make funds available for this by eliminating the military budget and closing all tax loopholes for the rich.
- Top priority should be given to construction of schools, housing, hospitals, and other needed facilities in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, with all funds and programs controlled by those communities.
- For preferential hiring and upgrading of Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican workers, to begin to make up for past discrimination.

NO GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE WITH UNIONS

- Against any wage controls, "guidelines," or other infringement on the unions' right to free collective bargaining.
- Repeal all laws limiting the right to strike, picket, and boycott by any employees, including government employees.



Baltimore public employees' strike. 'Workers did not create this economic crisis and have no reason to sacrifice for it.'

More and more people recognize the bankruptcy of this anarchic and brutal capitalist system that puts profits before human beings. It is this system that is responsible for inflation and unemployment, and only its overturn will eliminate these economic plagues.

The capitalists' solution for inflation is unemployment, and their solution for massive unemployment is war. They could only end the Great Depression through the carnage of World War II, and in the past quarter century, unemployment has only fallen to 4 percent or less during the Korean war and the Vietnam war. The capitalists have no other answers.

Our party's solution is the replacement of this outmoded system with a new society with a rationally planned economy, run by the workers themselves and based on human needs.

The proposals of the Socialist Workers Party answer the immediate needs of working people, while pointing toward the reorganization that would be carried out by a workers government. We demand that these ideas be given a hearing at the "economic summit."

**Debby Bustin
Maceo Dixon
Cochairpersons, Socialist
Workers Party 1974 National
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